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ABSTRACT

Ways in which classroom learning environments contribute to the failure of modern school systems to serve ethnic and minority groups in large urban centers are analyzed in this ethnographic study. The study, which took place in the elementary schools of the Berkeley Unified School District, consisted of collecting ethnographic information on the school setting, classroom interaction, student family and cultural background, and peer networks; selection of key episodes; conversational-linguistic analysis of episodes; and search for comparative ethnographic data and conversational data to test the assumptions of the research. Thus, the research consisted of a comparative study within classrooms with a focus on children in high and low reading groups and between home and school. Results of this and other studies are summarized within six categories: learning and teaching as an interactive process, differential access to learning opportunities, oral and written schemata, social network influences on school children, informal learning in home and school, and methodological observations on ethnography and natural experiments. Appendices, which form the major portion of the document, include additional notes on the collection of data, several transcripts of conversations, outlines of typical days in various grades, and several research papers related to the topic of this study. (KC)

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FINAL REPORT ON SCHOOL/HOME ETHNOGRAPHY PROJECT

1981

NIE Grant No. G-78-0082

Prepared By:

Jenny Cook-Gumperz

Principal Investigators:

Herbert D. Simons
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I. Theoretical Background

The present project is an exploratory study, which attempts to combine ethnography and conversational analysis in order to seek systematic ways of explaining how classroom learning environments can contribute to the failure of modern school systems to serve the ethnically and occupationally different populations of large urban centers. Anthropological research builds on the premise that human action is governed in large part by taken for granted assumptions, as they effect the educational process; to isolate issues for further analysis in the classroom and to explore systematically some of the influences that link the home experiences with those of the school. It is expected that, in the future, such diagnostic episodes as we select could form the basis for teacher training activities.

In formulating the problems to be investigated, we build on recent ethnographic studies dealing with such issues as (a) the function of school in American society (Ogbu, 1978; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970), (b) the social structure of classrooms (Jackson, 1968; Henry, 1963; Dreeben, 1968; Silberman, 1970), (c) the interactional processes in the classroom (Philips, 1972; McDermott, 1977; Florio, 1978; Mehan, 1979).

The major criticisms leveled at the traditional methods of ethnography in educational research have been the nagging problems of validity and generalizability. By its very nature, classroom ethnography is a time consuming enterprise, often requiring a full time researcher in each classroom. This kind of work then does not lend itself to random sampling procedures or large enough sample sizes to allow for standard statistical treatment. Problems with validity arise because, in many cases, the ethnographer relies solely on his own field notes and interview protocols in writing up his report. Without any records of actual behavior (from tape recordings or videotapes) to support the analysis, the reader has no means for assessing alternative interpretations of the data. Another complaint is that the ethnographer often makes no mention of the criteria used in selecting so-called exemplary or representative anecdotes, or fails to make explicit the criteria for determining what counts as representative.

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However, although the questions asked, methods, and areas of concentration vary, the early ethnographic work in the classrooms has identified a number of issues that are widely agreed upon. The evidence is overwhelming that the earlier notions of cultural or linguistic deprivation or difference cannot account for minority school failure. Rather, this work has clearly demonstrated that the problems in urban education must be viewed as a function of societal processes. Among the processes that have been shown to be related to school failure are the following:

1) The role models society provides and differential access to opportunity with respect to jobs, housing, and political power results in lowered motivation to learn on the part of minority students (Ogbu, 1974)
2) Learning environments in urban classrooms differ radically from their suburban counterparts. This seems to be partly a matter of social factors such as class size and differential treatment in the more successful suburban and less successful urban classroom (Rist, 1978; Leacock, 1969).
3) Of the various treatment factors identified, an especially important one seems to be teacher expectation (the Pygmalion effect) and its pejorative consequences for those cases where there is a discrepancy between the child's actual ability and teacher expectation (Rist, 1970; Brophy and Good, 1970).
4) Another factor, emphasized by Henry (1963), Philips (1972), Cole and Scribner (1973), and others is the problem of formal versus informal learning. Schools tend to emphasize formal learning, but this work has shown that a great deal of learning is accomplished through the formal processes which act as the indirect socialization of the child, as a result of the informal grouping that the child enters into in the classroom. Formal and informal learning strategies may sometimes conflict.
5) Finally, there is the question of social class variation and language, as discussed by linguists such as Labov (1970) and Cazden (1971). While correlations between social class and language do exist, and while there is some evidence that this does relate to school failure, exactly what the relationship is remains to be spelled out. No systematic attempt has been made to explain the <u>processes</u> that give rise to such correlations.

Building upon the basis of the researches made in the ethnographic tradition we can identify the problem of classroom environments and differentiated learning as more complex than a matter of different material classroom resources or the social grouping of teacher and student. What is central to the problem is what is communicated in school both as the content and the structure of the learning events and environments. A primary purpose of our study is to show (a) how this process is affected by differences among children and teachers social backgrounds which are demonstrated in different communicative strategies (b) how these differences affect the evaluation of performance and education progress, and indirectly for our project does not directly address this issue (c) how these differences can serve either to reinforce or change preexisting differences in motivation to learn.

Although communication is crucial to learning, the processes of inference which determine results and the perception of communication cues on which they are based are for the most part subconscious and not subject to direct verbalization. They must be studied through indirect means. Our method can best be called the "typical case method". It concentrates on the isolation of key episodes which (like Erickson's gate keeping encounters, 1976) are revealing of the issues we are concerned with.

Our research procedures can be divided into the following operational stages:

1) gathering ethnographic information on the school setting, the classroom interaction, on students' cultural and family background and peer networks
2) selection of key episodes
3) conversational analysis of episodes
4) search for further comparative ethnographic data and conversational data to test the assumptions about intent and findings of communicative stategies at work from the selection and analysis of key episodes.

II Research Procedures

1. Ethnographic Data:

a. Selection of fieldwork site

Our ethnographic procedure began with the location of a research site; two classrooms which would be most revealing of the type of phenomena we are interested in. The ethnic distribution in the Berkeley unified School District is regulated by district policy, so that the problem of finding classrooms with the proper ethnic balance was not an issue.

The communicative phenomena we are investigating are recurrent and part of the everyday teaching situation. Our analysis focuses on the indepth study of these phenomena over time rather than on distribution counts. The success of our project depends crucially on the willingness of teacher, parents and children to cooperate and comment on ongoing findings and hypotheses. Our main criteria, then, in selecting a classroom was to find a normal classroom with an experienced teacher who was interested in and willing to permit a researcher to become a part of her classroom for an entire year. In return, our two researchers undertook to participate fully in classroom life as teaching aides, working under the direction of the teacher as other teaching aides do. The researchers' work began the week before school opened and field notes were kept of all the preparations made.

b. Observing the organization of the school day

The first few days at the start of school involved becoming acquainted with the daily routine of the classroom, getting to know the children's names, observing when and where various types of activity consistently occured, and noting preexisting or developing play and friendship groups both within class and during recess. Field notes, a running account of classroom events, snatches of talk, and the teacher's comment on events, were made on site and filled out the same day after school.

We began our actual observation on the first day of school, focusing primarily on the teacher and instructional aide, in their classroom organization and structuring of the day. Verbatim speech was recorded, especially teacher-centered talk: instructions, introductions of activities, questions to the group or individual students, reprimands. We made particular note of any seemingly problematic moments ("uncomfortable moments"), where children appeared not to understand what was going on or what they should have been doing (that is, confusion about what activity comes next), or not getting the point of a particular line of questioning; and also noted any strategies used by the children that were clearly worked out, such as to get the floor, or to get the right answer to a question, or to show off.

Participant observation showed that the school day could be mapped out into relatively discrete segments. After the first two or three weeks of observation musch of what happens in school becomes predictable; the daily routine of the classroom is a stable pattern of activities and interactions which is perceived as being stable by the children and teacher as well. So that after several weeks of detailed general observation, we turned our attention to selecting,

from the mass of details, the common core of activities that happened everyday in a relatively consistent pattern. Some of these activities were formulaically opened or closed by the teacher and so formed "bounded" entities. Among these were activities named by the teacher as well as non-named activities.

It became possible to come up with a formulation of "A Typical Day", a schedule of predictable activities and group structures with their locations throughout the room, and the times spent at various activities.

2. Selection of Key Episodes

Our knowledge of how the day is divided by teachers and students; how the various episodes within the day are structured and what is expected to be achieved at any one time forms the background for the conversational analysis. The actual conversational analysis is based on tape recordings and videotapes which are illustrative of some of the problems raised. In other words, in the course of their work in the classroom, the researchers were on the lookout for particular kinds of incidents reflecting or illustrating issues which involved processes that could be related to the earlier ethnographers' findings. The following is a list of some of these issues:

1. Differential treatment of children and its causes. A number of incidents illustrating this were found by comparing teacher's reactions to children's performance in such instances as sharing time, and in reading groups (See Collins and Michaels and Cook-Gumperz Appendix two).
2. Teacher expectation and its relationship to children's performance. Initial evidence on teacher expectation was obtained through analysis of ability groupings and through recording of the teacher's judgements that went into the formation of these groupings. Indirect evidence of teacher's evaluation can be gotten from teacher's informal judgements in a variety of settings. Similarly, a true measure of the range of children's ability can be ascertained by comparing children's verbal performances in classroom elicitation situations with performances in peer-group settings and other experimental settings.
3. Incidents of miscommunication. We are particularly interested in such things as teacher's directives or teacher's miscommunication in the course of teaching a task.
4. Children's attention getting strategies; that is, the ways that children attempt to get access to learning opportunities or access to individual attention from the teacher.

5. Evidence of peer-group networks and behavior and its effects on classroom interaction. For example, white children seemed to be moved by threats of grades, while black children didn't seem to care; because their attitude is supported by peer group approval.

3. Conversational Analysis

Microethnographic studies have shed some light on the nature of classroom processes by demonstrating that whatever happens in the class is a matter of communication at both the verbal and nonverbal level. Working in this tradition, Erickson and his students, Florio (1978), Bremme (1977), McDermott (1978), and others, have done detailed analysis of everyday classroom interaction, in an attempt to uncover the unspoken classroom rules, norms of behavior and rights and obligations of participants. This work has shown that it cannot be assumed, as the earlier small group analysts had assumed, that the classroom constitutes an undifferentiated structure where teacher and child interact as individuals. Interaction processes are at work within each setting that lead to subgroup formation and determine the contexts which guide and channel behavior and limit access to learning opportunity.

The value of this approach is that it provides replicable ways of discovering types of behavior that are not ordinarily commented on but which nevertheless guide interaction, and reveal the unstated conventions that may influence teacher evaluations of student performance.

As we have suggested in the previous section, children must learn what the structures of daily activities are, they must know how transitions between structures are signalled, what behavioral strategies are required to gain the teacher's attention or to secure cooperation of the peer group. Knowledge of strategies appropriate to these structures is a precondition for obtaining access to learning.

From this kind of micro-ethnographic work we know that children, teachers, and outside observers may reach different understandings depending on their social experience and their knowledge of the signals that participants use in interacting with one another. It is for these reasons that we need to know more about the process by which specific social meanings and conventions are created through conversational exchanges and to explore more fully the uses of language in the classroom. Micro-ethnographic studies of non-verbal behaviors are highly successful in revealing previously unnoticed features and unspoken norms of subgroup formation and social presuppositions which affect classroom

learning. The importance of such non-verbal work is that it offers possibilites for the measurement of what Goffman (1971) calls conversational involvement. It enables us potentially to tell without knowing the content, whether two speakers are communicating. The goal of the work reported here, is to study classroom communication at the verbal level, in ways similar to those studied at the non-verbal in order to determine the semantic process by which participants evaluate the success of any speech encounter; in this way we develop knowledge of the specific patterns and conventions of verbal usage.

Our approach to classroom interaction is perhaps more revealing of the relationship between macro and micro processes. We take a strategic approach- that is, the analysis of participants' strategies and the outcome of interactions- to show how classroom processes affect teacher evaluations as well as children's performance in class and their perception of what takes place.

The theory of communication on which our work is based is outlined in Gumperz, 1979. To summarize briefly, our analysis concentrates on the processes of conversational inference, that is, the situated process by which participants in a conversation assess the intents of other participants and on which they base their responses. In other words, what we are concerned with is how people determine what is intended at any particular time. We assume that in making this determination people rely on factors such as their socio-cultural background, their understanding of what the ongoing activity is and what goal is to be accomplished as part of the activity, as well as their knowledge of grammer and lexicon.

One important assumption we make, based on our own previous work on language acquisition and interethnic communication, is that judgements of intent differ. That is, children and adults, or individuals of different ethnic backgrounds may interpret the same message differently as a function of differences in background or differences in developmental stage.

While our analysis depends on our understanding of classroom rules and ethnographic knowledge of social background, the detailed analysis of these processes relies on conversational processes. That is, we utilize the ethnographic findings in conversational analysis to show how grammatical knowledge of linguistic conventions combine with background knowledge and the understanding of goals in the interpretive process.

4. Comparative Studies Supplementary to Ethnographic Data

The final aspect of our classroom research is concerned with combining our

ethnographic data with more formal performance measures, in order to explore the way in which the classroom processes work to produce the measured performance. The substantive focus of this work is on the influence of children's language on their acquisition of literacy skills. More specifically, we want to examine the effects of the discrepancy between children's essentially oral language background and the demands of the written culture of school.

Our main concern is with learning to read in school and with the evaluation of reading performances. Both learning to read and the reading task require the ability to receive and produce decontextualized language (Simons and Murphy, Simons and Gumperz); that is the acquisition and practice of metalinguistic skills. To do this children must have access to the linguistic knowledge with which they are able to segment this speech sigmal alone. Learning to comprehend texts requires readers to understand the frame of reference of the text as opposed to the immediate context (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz, 1977); and to depend more heavily on syntax and semantics to segment sentences and develop meanings rather than upon the prosodic devices of oral speech. Furthermore, children must use language for school interactions in a way that is biased toward a literate model by such teacher injunctions as "speak in full sentences". It is in these ways among others that the school makes demands that are more consistent with a decontextualized use of language which is opposed to the practices of everyday speech and communicative understanding which itself is context embedded.

Our work in this area has been concerned with exploring different aspects of the literacy skills measured and evaluated in schools, in tasks that can be systematically given and analysed. We have focused on three areas:

1) the relationship between 'decontextualized' use of language, that is language used without the normal context supports with the relationship between children's performance on these tasks and their ability in decontextualizing reading skills and classroom performance.
2) the relationship between oral and written language skills. A task was designed that required children in 1rst grade to view a film without a spoken narrative and then later to recount their version of the story. A study was made of the children's use of thematic cohesion devises in the oral account with the strategies used in a written version of the account.
3) a further exploration of the idea that the comprehension of texts requires assumptions about the frame of reference formed by the text itself. This study has looked at the concept of the narrative as a

frame of textural reference. A study has been made of different forms of narrative accounting from provided stimulus material with 2nd graders and the relationship between 'strong and weak' story-tellers and children's performance in reading.

At this point we should give a summary of our methods. To the extent that we analyze the intricacies of classroom interaction, we use our hypothesis to direct our observation and selection of key situations in the classroom which are illustrative of the processes and issues that we want to study. It is this search for key situations, and key comparisons, that underlies our research design; a comparative study within classrooms with a focus on children in high and low reading groups and between home and school. Our basic method is both analytical and comparative, using conversational-linguistic analysis to uncover the social processes at work in the classroom performance and evaluation of primary school children.

5. The Home Environment Study

The greater amount of our research time and resources went into the study of classroom related communication. The study of home communication environments proved to be extremely time consuming in that it was difficult to obtain co-operation from many parents either because of their own time constraints or because they did not feel comfortable in co-operating with a project which was already part of the school context. For these reasons we have focused on a narrow band of home communication issues which provide a direct continuity of theme with the enquiry in the classroom communication.

From the large amount of possible instances of home talk we have chosen to focus on the kinds of discourse occasions that have some parallel in the classroom, and that represent discourse styles which carry over from home to school and back again. These discourse occasions are best shown in mother-child explanations of events; mother-child appeals and justifications; mother and family narratives and anecdotes. Our rationale for these choices of strategic discourse occasions is that while we do not expect or even look for a one-to-one or direct correspondence between teachers and mothers, and home and school, we do hypothesize that over time children develop particular discourse styles of reasoning, explaining, and accounting that form a basis for their social understanding. We are aware that children at five or six are unlikely

to confuse the actual context of home and school, but their experience in the home of styles of discourse and reasoning provide an enduring set for the interpretation and understanding of other, novel, discourse occasions, e.g., children's uses of indirect strategies or their interpretation of the teacher's indirect control as we have indicated in some of our key episodes which follow. For these reasons we are focusing on mother's discussions with children and on family occasions where the child can be seen as part of the natural communicative groups.

We have approached this task in two ways: One, an open-ended questionnaire has been devised and piloted which allows us to explore with a fairly large group of mothers of lrst grade children in some systematic detail both their view of their children within the family and the family's relationship to other members and friends. The mother is asked to discuss with us her view of children's friendships and the importance of these, and how the child's friends are known to the rest of the family. Our second aim has been to focus upon discourse processes in the home, and the quality and character of mother-child and child-family interaction from naturally occuring family talk. This has meant regular contact and time spent in the early stages with mothers and their children.

The focus of our present analysis has been on the selection of episodes which show us something of the way in which mother's talk expresses the relationships between members of the family and the linkage between the family and the outside world or extended network of relatives and friends. This talk provides a specifically lexicalized comment or expression of these relationships. That is, it puts the relationship into words and by so doing provides the child with a framework of verbal knowledge which will provide, across time, information and guidance on how to manage this and other similar events.

III Findings of Research

The point of departure for our investigation is the analysis of classroom communicative environments. Ethnographic descriptions of classroom routines and of key episodes provide the basis for the discovery of critical classroom communicative tasks involving such abilities as narrative skills, expository skills, evaluative justifications and co-operative information exchange. All these are general tasks which form an integral part of the verbal interaction everywhere; but the way in which they are realized and evaluated are context specific. To uncover the extent and import of this contextual variation, we turned to the analysis of communicative constraints in home settings and in

naturalistic experimental situations which parallel the tasks situated in the classroom. Using criteria outlined in Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz "Beyond Ethnography" (See Appendix 2, .), we worked out comparative analyses of task performances in these settings which we hope should ultimately enable us to trace the effect of home and ethnic background on student behavior and teacher evaluation.

Summary of Findings from Research on Communicative Environments - At Home and School

Previous ethnographic studies have focused on cross-cultural differences in the participant structures i.e. the interpersonal relations associated with learning situations in different social groups. Others concentrate on event structures within a single classroom and on the verbal and non-verbal routines associated with them. Our own work, by contrast, attempts to show how assumptions about these structures and the signalling of them enter into the interpretation of intent and evaluation of performance providing for a chain of understanding of inference that effects the co-operation of students and teachers in learning relationships. Our findings confirm Erikson and Schultz's suggestion that classroom learning involves the learning of event structures and when and how a new context can be recognized. But we go on to show that these structures are constituted by indirect verbal strategies such as conventions of questioning, direction giving and information exchange. Children's performances are evaluated on the basis of their knowledge of these strategies. The following results are listed under specific issues:

1. Learning and teaching as an interactive process

A partial analysis of our data in this area are given in Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) Michaels (1980) Collins (1980). The Michaels and Cook-Gumperz papers (1979) show in detail how the teachers use of verbal conventions reflects her hidden theory of pedagogy and guides her teaching strategies. This results in some children's verbal offerings triggering teachers actions which lead to the joint production of narrative and the setting up of the interactive conditions within which learning can take place; while other children's offerings do not. These papers provide a detailed conversational analysis which shows that the processes involved are automatic processes not consciously planned acts.

Collins, using a similar method of conversational analysis, deals with the question of how a teacher evaluates a child's understanding of written sentences. Building on work by McDermott and others who have pointed out that a teacher working with low reading groups devotes proportionately more time to control behavior and less time to context than a teacher working with high groups.

Collins goes on to show through a systematic linguistic analysis of questions and answer response patterns that in low groups what is emphasized is pronunciation, grammar and single word decoding to the neglect of overall content. In high groups what is emphasized is content while spelling and pronounciation and grammatical cues are often disregarded. The result is that the two groups get different training and acquire a different view of what the reading process is about.

Both studies suggest that while the overt pedagogic message of schooling is concerned with the teaching of the specific content of differentiated disciplines (math, language arts, etc.) the latent effect is that the demonstration of what is taught and known rests upon the finding and evaluating of information in discourse sequences. Children learn what information to highlight and what to background within the specific conversational or discourse structures of leassons. A similar point is made by Mehan (1980, Learning Lessons) and to some extent by Edwards and Furlong (1980). Teacher's treatment of children is in large part determined by their evaluation of children's verbal skills. Those who have discourse skills are more likely to be categorized as high achievers and high achievers are taught to "go for the meaning at a more global level" (Cambell 1981). This point is also documented in Collins. The result within the long-term classroom context is that is is not so much what is known by a student that counts in an evaluation of performance, but how that knowledge is revealed or demonstrated. Teachers rationale, that is their explicit theory of pedagogy, is given in terms of the evaluation of content, where as the implicit latent effect of this evaluation process, is that discourse form is what is evaluated. This is not to say that knowledge of content is not valued. The point is that presuppositions about discourse style interfere with the ability to evaluate progress. (See Cook-Gumperz (1978) and Cook -Gumperz & Gumperz (1980) for further discussion)

The long-term effect could be characterized as discriminatory (Simons and Gumperz) in the sense that low achievers are not being as well prepared to go on to the more complex tasks in later grades; as Cook-Gumperz (1979) points out, the socio-communicative problem for children lies in making the discourse form match the recognized communicative task. Furthermore teachers have as an implicit goal appropriate discourse forms for differing tasks. It is only if we unpack the complex of communicative assumptions and discourse goals, which influence everyday routines and practices in classrooms at several levels of detail, that we can begin to see the very complex nature of skills and pressures that make up successful teaching.

2. Differential access to learning opportunities

The main thrust of our research has been under this heading. The work reported in these studies made by Collins and Michaels; Michaels and Cook-Gumperz; and Simons and Murphy; all document in different skill areas how differential learning results in the unintentional consequence of communicative classroom processes. This finding provides a new rationale for micro-analysis of classroom interaction as a diagnostic means, not of ridding teacher-student communication of attitudes and stereotypes, but of learning to recognize different discourse patterns when they are occurring. Such positive knowledge could provide an input for changing practices.

The actual phenomena studied in this project by the above research methods, are all phenomena occurring in the short run, situated context. However, over time the cumulative effect of recognizing or of failure to recognize discourse strategy such as a child's contribution to "sharing talk" or as a valid peer teaching instruction or as a gain in reading progress, provides a selective reinforcement or a selective motivational reduction for different students. Our preliminary hypothesis concerning the interactive processes that lead to differential access to learning opportunity are now being tested in two large scale studies. Collins has begun work in several Chicago classrooms under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois repplicating his Berkeley research. Michaels is planning a large scale study of sharing situations under the direction of Courtney Cazden at Harvard. It is by highlighting the process by which communicative strategies in the classroom open up opportunities for some students, and lead others to feel that they are misunderstood that discourse studies in the classroom can move beyond globally descriptive or analytic studies to provide an analysis of teaching strategies that can be effective.

3. Oral and written schemata

As we have indicated in the research outline, a focus of our concern with discourse form and structuring has been centered around the ways in which oral language skills such as telling a story or giving an account of some daily event, are transformed into other more formal, oral skills which are perceived as training for expression in written expository prose. Much of classroom teaching is built around communicative experiences which are directly related to such literacy training. (Simons and Gumperz) Our studies explore different aspects of these oral skills such as the ability to give concise instructions which model the referential precision necessary to written instructions: the ability to make and keep to a thematic point, and elaborate this; the ability to evaluate others communicative effectiveness. Our classroom observation/ethnography shows that by

fourth grade the teacher relies upon such training work having been completed. Therefore, the children whose discourse styles by fourth grade have not been transformed find much greater difficulty in formal learning tasks. Gottfried and Schafer (1980) show, in a case study, that if a child who performs well on informal oral tasks cannot or does not produce an adequate demonstration of competence in more formal learning tasks, he will become a fringe member of many of the organized learning occasions in the classroom. Simons and Murphy, in a detailed statistical study show that success in being able to produce and evaluate oral referential communication relates very strongly to abilities in decoding written language and other reading related language tasks. They suggest that specific training tasks in oral language skills which emphasize precision of reference and the production of a thematically tightly organized sequence of speech are good bases for the acquisition of 'decontextualized language' , the appreciation that language can stand in ways that are self-sufficient and independent of any referential context. Skill at recognizing and producing decontextualized language is a general precondition for success in reading and in other areas of literacy expression.

Cook-Gumperz and Green suggest that one of the major problems of evaluating children's oral skills in educational situations is that within this context the notion of competency and proper discourse form relies almost completely on adult based models of such phenomena as proper story form and narrative accounts. They show how in story-telling situations with young children inventive or alternative uses of form can be adversely rated if an adult centered model of simple expository prose is the only standard of performance. Similarly Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) and Michaels (1980) show that teachers look towards an ideal schema of expository prose even when judging oral skills, which may in themselves show language inventiveness. Collins and Michaels (1980) study of narrative re-telling demonstrates that while children of different socio-economic backgrounds can be equally effective as story tellers, nevertheless they differ when forms of their story schemata are compared with the form expected in written prose. Additionally, Cook Gumperz and Worsley show that the ability to tell a well-formed story which has connected sequences - as a measure of well-formedness, is not highly related to school tests of language arts or component reading skills. Furthermore, there is not a direct relationship between good story tellers and reading group placement in first grade. However, they suggest that as classroom curricula through the grades from first grade on place more reliance on written literary tasks, the relationship between low reading group, good story tellers and the high reading group good story tellers will diverge sharply. The former group

will lack or be slower with other supporting literacy skills with which to capitalize on their 'natural' flair for narrative expression.

The conclusion we can draw from these studies is that children upon entering school have had exposure to a range of literacy experiences all of which have formed their pre-school language capabilities - these multiple, various skills may not be tapped by the more limited focus of the school classroom curriculum with its focus on direct literacy training through simple expository prose. Cole, Hall and Downey (1980) in a study of children's language in and out of classroom in an inner city kindergarten, show how limited children's verbal offerings can be within a classroom context. Perhaps an awareness of the multiple sources of input and evaluation in discourse level decoding skills and discourse planning strategies available to children can be used to provide a wider basis for classroom language skills.

4. Social network influences on school children

Initial observation in both first and fourth grade classroom demonstrated that children's responses to teachers' questions of directions in the class were frequently not motivated by what was said, than by the response of other children in the classroom. Similarly studies have shown that not only teachers control but student motivation to learn becomes more strongly under the influence of peer group norms and pressures in later grades. Schafer in a detailed study of the social organization of a fourth grade classroom shows that children's perceptions of classroom interaction and the competencies of other students were affected, often in conflicting ways, by their own friendship group allegiances. In a series of questions Schafer explores the students' perceptions of the classroom organizational heirarchy through looking at the informal groupings of students, classroom friendships, and children's perceptions of the teachers judgements about other students. She notes that a child who is a member of a peer network outside of the classroom will only be influenced in classroom behavior if several other members of this peer group are also a part of the classroom. Such a child has to "weigh the odds" before conceding to the teachers control or accepting her/his point of view. A child who is an isolate or in a very loosely organized paired friendship situation is under no such constraint.

Cook-Gumperz, in an interview study with the mother's of first grade children, in home settings, shows that mother's perceptions of their children's friendships differ greatly between black, lower class mothers and white middle class.

These findings indicate that even in first grade, the composition of the network of friends differs, such that white middle class children are likely to have a very differentiated group of friends, many of whom are exclusive to the family setting and may not be within the geographic neighborhood nor at the same school. For black children the friendships within school are much more likely to be reinforced by contact out of school, or vice versa, or to be within the same neighborhood. The child's friendships were seen as an area of independent activity for black children, where as for middle class white children, they were seen as an area under the selective surveillance of the mother.

These and other findings from the home interview suggest that the middle class child is more likely to keep school and home activities separated, even though there is no conflict of interest, because school is only one part of an activity filled life space which is adult organized. For the lower class child school is another arena where the same friendships and conflicts are played out as they are in the home-base neighborhood. However, there may be conflict of interest between home, peer and school concerns. Also, in contradistinction to the organization of the school and classroom for many of the lower class black children life outside of the immediate space of the home, is not adult-organized nor dominated; so making the acceptance of the adult domination of school more difficult.

5. Informal learning in home and school

Cook-Gumperz (1981) in a case study of the middle class mothers, children and teachers deals with the informal learning styles in the home and with the ways these differ from the more consciously planned strategies of the classroom teacher. Teachers work to contextualize the knowledge they seek to impart by creating predictable situation which highlight the saliency of the verbal message. In the informal processes at home the situations in which learning occurs are interactively much more varied. It is suggested that what home learning does for children is that it teaches them to disembed the information they want from a varied situational field.

Gotfried and Schafer show that where discourse styles differ between home and school contexts, children's out of school discourse planning and informational search procedures become non-transferable so that informal home learning cannot become a resource in the classroom.

Simone and Gumperz (1979) in a general review paper discuss the nature of these home originated discourse constraints on school performance, especially as these relate to the low achieving and lower class children. While it is the

case that all children learn to recognize and keep home and school discourse contexts separated; and learn to select from the multiple messages the relevant interpretive cues that they need. Where there is an ethnically based difference in discourse strategies it is harder to recognize these cues especially if they occur in novel contexts. Simone and Gumperz make the argument that on this assumption the process of being socialized into the classroom discourse practices is a longer and harder task for a child where the out of school discourse experience is different from the predominant style of the classroom. Such an observation gives more detailed support to the findings of Piestrup (1970) on the success of teachers who created ethnically very distinctive language and discourse styles particularly with children of an ethnically similar background. Cazden and Erickson have made similar observations on Chicano-hispanic teachers.

6. Methodological observations on ethnography and natural experiments

The initial stages of our fieldwork consisted largely of unstructured observation. Soon after familiarizing ourselves with the teachers methods, the childrens personal background and the general classroom setting and daily routine, we began to look for cues in the form of anecdotal incidents and expressions of opinions which reveal the underlying assumptions and presuppositions that govern classroom performance. These semi-systematic observations then served to generate hypothesis of how the behavior we observed originated in interactive and communicative classroom processes. These hypotheses were tested in a series of natural experiments - staged situations, which replicated naturally occurring behavior under more controlled conditions and which enabled us to test predictions from earlier ethnographic observation - two such experiments are described in Collins and Michaels, Schafer and Gottfried. The Cook-Gumperz and Worsley, and Simons and Murphy papers employ more formal tests to check out similar predictions. Our work thus shows how ethnographic findings can lay the foundations for more replicable methods of investigation.

APPENDIX ONE

1. Additional Notes on Collection of Data

a. Inventorying the recordings

Once a tape recording or videotape is made, it is coded by the date, segment of the day in which the interaction took place, major participants involved (e.g., Teacher and high reading grouping, Instructional aide and whole class), and the major activities within the episode. Thus, a tape of a reading lesson might be coded as follows: December 5, 1978, Reading lesson, Mrs. J. and Tigers (high group), getting organized, making flash cards, passing out reading books, "round robin" reading, workbook assignments, C's go to own desks. Each selected tape is then indexed in more detail to indicate the kind of interactional processes, participant structures and control talk (directions, reprimands, sanctions) that occur. Specific activities and sub-activities of interest are coded as well as exemplary instances of differential control behavior for retrieval on the computer. We are now working on a computerized storage and retrieval system which will enable us to locate comparative data relevant to issues discovered in the analysis of key episodes.

Once a segment of the tape has been selected for transcription, each line is coded for speaker, addressee and interactional goal, and linked to the activity (or sub-activity), participant structure, etc.,in which it occured. In this way, we are able to retrieve, for example, all the reprimands to a particular child, during oral reading lessons taught by the teacher, instructional aide, student teacher, or reading specialist.

b. Natural experimental situations

In addition to documenting day to day school activities we created two experimental settings for the contrastive study of children's behavior in well-defined, naturally occurring situations.

1) Peer teaching and science field trip

The first, a school field trip to a "biology discovery room" in the Lawrence Hall of Science at Berkeley for the fourth grade class, was undertaken to provide an opportunity to compare children's behavior in a free-choice learning environment with patterns of behavior observed in the classroom. Comparison of children's behavior in the two kinds of educational settings demonstrated the context-bound nature of evaluation of children's abilities, which are in part a function of the particular setting, the explicit or implicit rules for participation in that setting, and the criteria for success. Recent research (Gottfried, 1979) on children's exploratory and social behavior in the science center setting provided baseline data and identified the discovery room as a strategic research site for investigating children's informal modes of learning. During school field trips, children are given a brief orientation and are then free to explore, touch, and hold animals and engage in various activities.

The week following the field trip the animals from the discovery room were brought to the school and the children taught another fourth grade class "what they had learned about the animals". These peer teaching sessions were also video-recorded and are being analyzed in relation to classroom patterns. Preliminary analysis of a case study documenting one child's behavior in the two educational settings demonstrates that situational factors strongly influence motivation, level or participation and ability to demonstrate competence. The same behaviors defined in one setting as "immaturity", "insubordination" and

"inability to focus attention" are seen as "curiosity", "creativity" and "strong exploratory tendencies" in the other setting.

2) Film showing of "pear" narratives

The second experimental setting involved both first and fourth grade classes; as a means of eliciting narrative discourse on the same topic from all the children, we showed a 6 minute film developed by Wallace Chafe (in color, with soundtrack but no language) about a boy who steals a basket of pears from a man, henceforth referred to as the "pear" film. Each child saw the film and was then asked to tell "what happened in the film", to the participant researcher who had not been present during the film viewing. First graders also gave a second telling four to six weeks later. Fourth graders gave both a written and oral version of the film, a day apart (with a counterbalanced design; that is, half gave the written version first, half the oral).

We anticipate doing a detailed comparative analysis of

a) oral discourse styles among first and fourth graders, with particular emphasis on the role of prosody in signalling thematic cohesion.

b) developmental differences between first and fourth graders with regard to discourse style, narrative structure and detail.

c) oral and written differences among fourth graders with regard to oral style characteristics and their influence on the development of literacy skills.

2. School-Classroom Ethnographies: First and Fourth Grade

In what follows we will give a step by step description of our ethnographic procedures and findings.

Location of fieldwork site: Our ethnographic procedures began with the location of a research site that would be most revealing of the type of phenomena we are interested in, those being factors related to differential participation, learning and success in urban, ethnically mixed classrooms. The overall design of our project specified in advance guidelines for the selection of a classroom. We planned to study an integrated, socially heterogeneous self-contained first grade classroom in an urban area, in which there were clearly defined reading groups. The ethnic districution in the Berkeley Unified School District is regulated by district policy and a program of voluntary busing, so the problem of finding classrooms with the proper ethnic balance was not an issue.

Since our study would be limited to two classrooms, a first grade and a fourth grade, it was important that the classrooms be representative or comparable in important respects to a great many other classrooms throughout the country. Clearly, there is no such thing as the "typical" classroom. However, the literature has shown that the phenomenon of differential learning is a pervasive one and that the communicative processes at work are general and recurring. That is to say, to some extent there is a culture of the classroom in urban areas that transcends regional and ethnic group boundaries. For this reason, any reasonably normal classroom would have sufficed. However, our analysis focuses on the in-depth study of these phenomena over time rather than on short term observation sessions and distribution counts. The success of our project depends crucially on the willingness of the teacher and children and parents to cooperate and

comment on ongoing findings and hypotheses. We needed to find an experienced (average to good) teacher who ran a relatively traditional self-contained first grade classroom who felt comfortable being observed and tape recorded in action. most importantly, we needed a teacher who was interested in the project and willing to permit a researcher to become a part of her classroom for an entire year. In return, our two researchers undertook to participate fully in classroom life as teaching aides, working under the direction of the teacher as other teaching aides do. The researchers' work began the week before school opened, as does the teacher's, and field notes were kept of all the preparations made. During the first 3 months of the project, the researchers spent between 3 and 4 full days each week in the classroom. In the latter part of the year, classroom time was reduced to 2 days.

An important characteristic of our ethnographic procedures is the constant cycling back and fourth between ethnographic observation, hypothesis generation and then field experiments and ethnographic observation to test out the hypothesis under consideration. As an example of this approach, our ethnographic inquiry took the following course during the first month of school, it became apparent that the low and high reading groups were receiving somewhat different kinds of reading instruction. While the high group was already reading stories in a reader, the low group was working with workbook-type materials, emphasizing letter shapes (tracing letters, etc.), letter sounds (a 'b' makes a 'buh' sound) and letter names (using flash cards). Somewhat later, though still during the first month of the year, the low group children were reading in books, but they were still being drilled in letter/sound correspondences.

There were several variables involved in this situation that could have accounted for the discrepancy in instructional approach. For one thing, the high group children were already "readers"--they all had a substantial sight word vocabulary and could handle short texts without difficulty. Some of the children in this group had been in this particular class the year before as kindergarteners (in a mixed K-1 classroom), and had already become familiar with letters and elementary decoding skills. Additionally, there were two teachers in the classroom, the regular teacher as well as an instructional aide. During the first few weeks of school, the instructional aide worked with the low group children exclusively as it was thought that they needed a strict, disciplinarian approach and would be less likely to "act up" for the far stricter instructional aide. (It happened that all the low group children were black as was the instructional aide.) At first I assumed it was merely a difference between the two, and that each had their own particular approach to early reading instruction. However, when the regular teacher switched roles with the aide, and took over the low group reading lessons, she continued and even added to the heavy phonics emphasis.

My initial impression, based on the differing instructional approaches, was that the low group children must have needed more practice and instruction on letter names and sounds. I was quite sure that the high group children, for whatever reason, had entered first grade knowing more of their letters and corresponding sounds than did the low group children, and that the differing approaches were designed to compensate for this.

To test out this hypothesis, I brought in my own set of hand-made letter flash cards and tested each child individually on his ABC's, during recess or free time. I found to my surprise, that the low group children were not significantly less well versed in their ABC's than the other (high or middle group) children. While it did turn out that the very best readers in the class, already in a small group by themselves (which I called the high-plus group), <u>did</u> know all the letters without any errors, the rest of the children were more or less equivalent, knowing most of the letters (and sounds) but forgetting some of the

less common ones (j, z, x) and occasionally confusing the reversable ones (p, b, d, q).

Thus, our ethnographic observation of differential treatment across reading groups led to the hypothesis that this was in response to a real ability differential across the groups. We then tested this hypothesis and found it untenable. Our ethnographic observation was then directed toward other possible explanations, requiring more fine-grained analysis of the actual interaction during the reading lessons, themselves.

An Ethnography of the First and Fourth Grade Classrooms

Getting started: During the week before school officially began for the children the participant observers worked closely with the teachers called Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Hayden, in setting the classroom up, arranging desks, organizing materials, putting up bulletin boards, making name tags, and so on.

During these early pre-school days, the researcher was able to talk to Mrs. Jones about overall plans and goals for the year, early lesson plans, expectations, etc. In explaining her methods for getting started, Mrs. Jones said, "First of all, I get my class list. I see where the kids are, so to speak. And I'm really talking about reading. 'Cause I've got to group them. And I've got to get in there fast. There's no point in wasting alot of time in the beginning of the year, fooling around. So, uh if I have any doubts I'll put 'em in a lower group but I want to get going just as soon as I can....The sooner you get going and get the kids in their routine (snaps fingers), the happier the whole thing's gonna be. And the tighter it's going to be....more together. You've got to put up some little things so your room doesn't look so bare. You want to put up some things that you're going to use, like number lines on the kids' desks and on the wall. And then the first few days you do a lot of art work 'cause that's fun and it isn't evaluative. Everybody wins. And it helps to decorate your room. And you do as many fun things with them as possible 'cause you do have the time at that period. And you jump right into handwriting inspite of all the moans and groans because it takes two weeks to get over that. And then they know they can do it and then you do little poems or nutty things to sort of get 'em with you. You know 'cause they're looking at me all the time. What kind of person is she gonna be? And some of 'em can be very fearful. And so if I can have fun with them and still, keep it at a certain level, so I still have control....."

It was also during these early days that a great deal of teacher to teacher information about children got traded over coffee breaks and lunch in the teacher's lounge.. Teachers freely passed on impressions about children or siblings of children they had had, making comments such as "Boy, I wish you luck with X; I certainly had my hands full with him last year". Often, information about a child's home background was disclosed, such as "Y's mother will be on your back from day one, pushing, pushing". Or, Z's parents just got divorced so she may be somewhat upset". Or,"Q is a real darling. I just loved her and her mother is a terrific helper." True to Mrs. Jone's expressed plan of action, on one occasion, she sat down with the kindergarten teacher (who had had 25 out of the 30 children the year before), with a class roster in hand, and systematically solicited information about each child. She got ability judgements (each child was rated a High, Medium, or Low or in some cases a High + or Medium -. She also noted down family information such as "broken home" or helpful parents", as well as personality information such as "shy", "St. Bernard" or whether the child had been an attendance problem or needed to be "pushed".

On the second day of the school year, the children were grouped into High +, High, Middle and Low reading groups, which correspond to the kindergarten teacher's assessment almost without exception. It was not until a week later that

that Mrs. Jones received the kindergarten CTBS (Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, a standardized achievement test, given to all elementary school children in May) scores for these children. In some cases there were discrepancies, where a low group child had tested higher than a middle group child, but no changes in group placement were made.

Segmenting the school day

After several weeks of detailed, general observation, we turned our attention to selecting, from the mass of details, the common core of activities that happened everyday in a relatively consistent pattern. Some of these activities were formulaically opened or closed by the teacher and so formed "bounded" entities.. Among these were activities named by the teacher as well as non-named activities.

It then becomes possible to come up with a formulation of "A Typical Day", a schedule of predictable activities and group structures with their locations throughout the room, and the times spent at various activities. It will be noticed that not all the activities on the following list are bounded speech activities -- such as "announcements" or "seatwork" or "quiet play". To a certain extent, depending on the child's reading group and speed in doing workbook or other seatwork assignments, each child's day looked slightly different. A closer analysis of the day of two or three select children would highlight this fact. Nonetheless, all the children are involved (to greater or lesser degrees) in all the major activities and do learn over time, when they occur and what the expected norms of behavior are at these times.

The daily organization becomes so much a part of the children's understanding of "going to school" that they are acutely aware of any changes in particular contextualization features regularly used by the teacher. An anecdote will illustrate this point. In October, only 7 weeks after school had started, a substitute teacher took Mrs. Jones' place for a day. The substitute made every effort to follow the general framework of activities laid out in Mrs. Jones' lesson plan, but she did not conduct lessons or move from activity to activity in the same manner as Mrs. Jones. Several children were visibly disoriented. One child said, "we didn't do sharing yet", though in fact it had already occurred, before doing the calendar (which was unusual). One child even asked "Have we had lunch yet?" upon coming in from recess and another child asked "Is this morning or afternoon?" as we were going to lunch, in order to know whether it was time to put his chair up on his desk, which occurs only at the end of the day.

A Typical Day in First Grade

8:55 - 9:00	Coming in from outside; putting away jackets and lunches
9:00 - 9:02	Transition to rugtime
9:02 - 9:15	Rugtime (call to order)
	Roll
	Calendar
	Sharing
	Announcements
9:15 - 9:18	Transition into reading groups
9:18 - ****	Reading
	Group work
	Seat work
**** - 9:58	Quiet play
9:58 - 10:00	Clean up for recess
10:00 - 10:02	Line up for recess
10:02 - 10:15	Organized game on playground
10:15 - 10:30	Free play on playground
10:30 - 10:35	In from recess, to desks, heads down
10:35 - 10:38	Transition into math groups
10:38 - ****	Math time
	Group work
	Seat work
**** - 11:40	Quiet play (early part of year) Spelling (from late November on)
11:40 - 11:43	Clean up for lunch
11:43 - 11:45	Line up for lunch
11:45 - 12:20	Lunch and free play on playground

12:20 - 12:22	Come in and sit on rug
12:22 - 12:40	Story time on rug
12:40 - 12:42	Transition to handwriting, moving to desks
12:42 - 1:00	Handwriting
1:00 - 1:56	Movie, science, art projects, diaries, etc. (different each day)
1:56 - 2:00	Get ready to go home

It should be noted that the teacher's segmentation of the first grade day looks quite different:

9:00 - 10:00	Sharing and Reading
10:00 - 10:30	P.E. and recess
10:30 - 11:30	Math and Spelling
11:30 - 12:20	Lunch and supervised play
12:20 - 2:00	Literature, book enjoyment, art, science, handwriting Project Write, free time

In contrast to the ethnographer's version, the teacher's conception of the day looks like a discrete series of bounded activity units, with no transitional activity. Furthermore, her units are more general, less descriptive and more inclusive than the ethnographer's. For example, for the teacher, "sharing" includes with it all the activities on the rug (roll, calendar and announcements) that go along with sharing everyday. "Reading" encompasses both small group lessons and seat work. It appears that the teacher's conception and segmentation of the day is based on named, organized and clearly bounded activity units. At any point in the day, she could describe to an outsider what was "happening" in her class by reference to one of these broad activity slots. She would say "We are doing reading now" or "We are having lunch," or, if caught at a transitional point, she would say, "We are getting ready to do reading, go to lunch, etc." The children also respond similarly to this kind of question, using the same broad, named activities the teacher used. This does not imply that the teacher and children do not have a finer tuned conception of the day, which includes notions of appropriate behavior at transition points. Under careful observation, it becomes very clear that they do, inasmuch as the children systematically modify their behavior and the teacher systematically expects and demands that this occur, in moving smoothly in and out of activities and transitional segments throughout the day. It is something that all competent members of the classroom come to know and hold each other accountable for, but have a hard time talking about.

In order to identify exhaustively the different segments of the day, the ethnographer looks both for the typical and the atypical. That is, he watches for and records commonplace events, with an eye for the regular patterns of behavior that emerge over time. At the same time, he notes down disruptions to the regular flow of the day, surprises or uncomfortable moments that seem to evidence some confusion or misunderstanding. A detailed analysis of some of these moments often highlights an unspoken rule, one that the children must learn in the doing, rather than by being told. These moments of confusion may also highlight a subtle transition from one segment of the day to another, where for example, there is a very minor shift in the norms of behavior and few or subtle contextualization cues which signal the shift from one context to another. It is in just these cases, that children get confused, not knowing exactly what the appropriate rules are or exactly what segment of the day they are in. Two anecdotes will illustrate this point.

After approximately four weeks of school, the following interaction took place during rugtime, right after the roll had been called and before sharing had taken place.

1 J: One, two, three, four people not here. Oooh, that's bad.

2 C: Consuela here

3 J: I was thinking about the notes that your mothers have been sending in, boys and girls.

4 B: .....

5 Deena: Mrs. Jones?

6 J: Yes?

7 Deena: I've got something to show you. (Comes toward J. touching front tooth)

8 J: OK wait a minute. Wait, can you show me later? (J holds up hand in front of Deena)

9 Deena: Uh huh.

10 J: Just me or the class?

11 Deena: Uh--, the class

12 J: OK wait just a minute and we'll do that. Thank your mothers for sending in notes. Alright?

13 C's: Alright

In this interaction, Deena waits until a transition point, after roll has been called, to try to gain J.'s attention. Once called on, Deena gets up from rug and begins to approach J. In doing this, Deena is violating an unspoken rule which says that a child cannot approach the teacher for personal matters. Mrs. J. immediately puts her hand up (as if to say, "don't come any closer") and asks Deena to wait until later. In this way, the unspoken rule, "Don't approaeh the teacher during rugtime" is invoked and Deena acquiesced to it (line 9). However the situation is slightly more complex. There are subtle shifts in rugtime rules, depending on the sub-segment activity, whether roll, calendar, announcements or sharing. During sharing time, the children <u>are</u> allowed to approach J. provided they have something of interest to show the whole class. It is likely that from Deena's gesture to her tooth that Mrs. J. inferred that Deena's comments might well be appropriate for sharing time (as loose or lost teeth are always an acceptable sharing topic). Deena's behavior, then, rather than being seen as inappropriate and a violation of rugtime rules, is seen as being appropriate but slightly premature. It is worth noting that after this bit of interaction had occurred, J. continued to talk for a few moments about notes from home and then initiated sharing time, saying, "OK, who has something interesting to share?" Deena was the first child to be called on and did indeed share about her very loose tooth. This indicates just how unspoken rules get created and invoked and how children gradually come to learn them without ever hearing the rules outright. The full message here is that the teacher cannot be approached during rugtime for a personal chat, but <u>can</u> be approached with matters of interest to the whole class, provided it's during sharing time. However, this is not a rule that either Mrs. J. or Deena could state explicitly.

During the second week of school, the following interaction took place. It occurred just after rugtime had begun, while Mrs. Jone's was calling roll and at the same time trying to figure out who needed lunch tickets.

1. T: Nori has a ticket. Do you want to use your ticket?

2 Nori: (Nods)

3 T: (.....)

4 T: Merle, do you want to use your lunch ticket?.... Wally isn't here.

5 P.O.: He's coming now. There he is.

6 T: Was the bus late?

7 Chuck: Yeah.

8 C: Yeah.

9 Chuck: Our bus, huh? (....)

10 T: Sh, sh, Chuck. Sh. Sh. Sh. (Wally walks in the classroom)

11 T: Was your bus late Wally?

12 Wally: Was it late?

13 T: Was your bus late?

14 Wally: Nope, I don't think so.

15 T: Why are you coming in late then?

16 Wally: Ah don't know. (chuckles)

17 T: Uh Wally, Wally, I want you to sit right here quickly. If you come in late you just pop right down on your bottom. (loudly)

18 Wally: Yeah, I came in late.

20 T: Sh. Sh. Merle you want to use your lunch ticket today?

21 Merle Yeah.

This example illustrates the fluid and subtle nature of contextual cues which signal to participants what activity is taking place, and how any given utterance ought to be interpreted. Here, Wally's misreading of surface contextual cues, coupled with a degree of natural playfulness, results in a series of exchanges in which both teacher and child misinterpret the other's intent. The misunderstanding escalates into a minor confrontation between teacher and child.

Wally comes into the classroom late, during a moment of confusion when several children had begun to talk (lines 7-9). Mrs. Jones asks Wally if his bus had been late and Wally responds by casually turning the question back at her, saying "Was it late?" (line 12). Mrs. Jones repeats her original question more firmly and Wally answers fliply (line 14) saying, "Nope, I don't think so." Mrs. Jones'

further probe, "Why are you coming in late then?" indicates that the force of these remarks is not so much interest in whether or not his bus was late, but rather an indirect reprimand for walking in late himself, and a demand for some kind of explanatory account. Wally misses the indirect force of the question and thus appears to be acting disrespectfully in the face of her reprimand. His comment, "Ah don't know" (line 16) is produced with exaggerated Black intonation, with a wide grin, glancing over at his friends on the rug. Mrs. Jones' responds with uncharacteristic harshness, raising her voice sharply. This time Wally catches the force of her reprimand and says sheepishly, "Yeah I came in late."

I interviewed both Mrs. Jones and Wally (independently about this exchange playing them the tape and asking them how they interpreted the other's utterances. I learned that Mrs. Jones had indeed interpreted Wally's response as "sassy", testing her in front of the group to see how far he could go. She said she felt it was important to be firm with Wally from the very start so he "would know who's boss and kind of settle down." She had already begun to single Wally out as a child who had a lot on the ball, a lot of spunk, but who needed limits.

When I played the tape for Wally, on the other hand, he seemed genuinely puzzled about the interchange. He said that at first he just thought that Mrs. Jones wanted to know if his bus had been late and he didn't think that it had been. Then when he said "Ah don't know" (line 16) he thought maybe he would "get in trouble a little, but not <u>that</u> much!" He said he hadn't really meant to make Mrs. Jones so mad.

Now the question remains, what went on here to create such discrepant interpretations of the same interchange. In light of the speech activity structure in this classroom, it is likely that Wally and Mrs. Jones were not seeing eye to eye with respect to what context they were in and hence what norms of behavior and likely goals for the activity were. That is, it appears that Wally misinterpreted Mrs. Jone's indirect reprimand, "Was your bus late?" as a sincere question, based on a faulty sense of context.

During the time I call "transition to rugtime", children are free to chat quietly or ask questions of Mrs. Jones, Mrs. B. (the instructional aide) or myself. The adults often ask individual children questions of a personal nature during this time (e.g., "Joel, did you bring a note from your mother?", "Is that a new jacket, Bob?", "Merle, did you remember to bring in your green form?"). After the formal call to order, "rugtime" norms prevail: children are not addressed informally by the teacher and they are reprimanded for talking (even quietly) to one another.

Wally came into the classroom after rugtime had officially begun, but it was during a moment of confusion ("Merle isn't here."..."He's coming now.") and several children had begun to talk (Charles: "Our bus, huh? (...)"). It then makes sense that Wally misinterpreted the intent of Mrs. Jones' question as one of a chatty nature, rather than as an indirect reprimand, thinking that rugtime had not yet gotten underway, and he was not all that late. His chatty, playful response then seemed appropriate to him but totally out of line to Mrs. Jones. Hence, Wally's confusion.

<u>Speech activities and participant structures</u>

Within these daily segments, it becomes possible to focus on the major speech activities and their corresponding norms of behavior and rights and obligations with regard to speaking and participation. Philips (1972) used the term "participant structures" to characterize the constellation of these norms, and showed that these structures influence interaction and participants'

perceptions about what is going on and, over time, the amount of learning that takes place. Erickson and his students have shown that these participant structures change from activity to activity throughout the day, each requiring the child to internalize a new set of norms and strategies in order to behave appropriately. (Florio, 1978; Florio and Shultz, 1979)

Philips notion of participant structures has to do with broad patterns of structural organization in any given interaction, with regard to who gets to talk, how turns are allocated and what kind of talk is deemed appropriate. She notes four major participant structures that occurred with varying degrees of frequency in the classroom and home community she studied: 1) teacher or adult leading the whole group, 2) teacher leading small group, 3) peer initiated interaction, 4) independent seatwork (with the teacher keeping a watchful eye). However, as Florio and Shultz (1979) have pointed out, participant structures change continuously throughout the day, often shifting several times during the course of a single activity depending on whether it is the beginning, middle or end of the activity. Their notion of participant structure is more specific, based on nonverbal analysis of eye gaze, postural shifts, back channel vocalizations, etc. to determine who the focal and peripheral communicatants and listeners are. The result of this analysis is a larger number of participation structures reflecting the variety of patterns of turn taking, floor holding, etc. In our approach to the analysis of participant structures in the classroom, we have found that the norms of behavior and rights and obligations of speakers vary both across and within participant structures, as you move from context to context throughout the day. For example, rugtime is a bounded speech activity that occurs at the same time and in the same place everyday. It has a teacher to whole group participant structure, in that it is opened and closed formulaically by the teacher and she decides who gets to talk and what counts as appropriate topics. However, as was seen in the example above, the rules for appropriate behavior, such as when a child can approach the teacher and about what, shift from sub-segment to sub-segment within rugtime (i.e. from taking the roll, to doing the calendar, to sharing). While the general participant structure (in Philips use of the term) remains teacher to whole group, the norms and rules do shift in important ways and the children are held accountable for this.

In characterizing the various segments of the day, we will briefly describe the kind of interaction that regularly takes place, noting the general participant structures as well as the specific norms and rights and obligations of participants with regard to the kind of talk that takes place.

Each activity segment can be characterized by a particular verbal statement of the teacher -- a <u>formulating comment</u> which can, across time, be seen to form a contextualizing signal for an activity's commencement or cessation. It is precisely these kinds of cues that a substitute is unable to provide, which creates confusion and disorientation in the children.

Rugtime	"OK, everyone, come to the rug." (this initiates a very fluid, gradual movement into position)
Roll	"OK, I,m going to call roll now. Only answer to your own name."
Calendar	"OK, special person, will you get the calendar for us?"
Sharing	"OK,who has something really exciting to share?"
Reading	"OK, Mrs. B., are you ready for your group? Will the Lions come up in front?"

Clean up for recess	"OK, everybody freeze. I want you to put everything away and get ready for lunch."
Line up for lunch	"OK, everyone, ve--ry slowly, please line up for lunch."
Free time (occasionally)	"OK, we've got 15 minutes until lunch. If you can handle it you can have some free time."

Major speech events: Participant structures, norms, rights and obligations

1. Coming in from outside

Children (henceforth C's) line up outside back door to classroom.
When bell rings, door is opened and C's come in, move freely, go to coatrack, drinking fountain, desk, rug.
C's group themselves along lines of friendship. Regular peer structures emerge: group of 3-5 white boys interact around a desk or on the rug, group of black girls gather around an adult or on the rug, group of black boys gather usually away from the rug. These are student initiated structures, not dealt with by Philips.
C's talk freely to each other (even loudly).
C's approach J., B., or S.* with notes, hugs, or simply to chat ("Know what I did yesterday?").

2. Getting started; transition into rugtime

Teacher (J., B., or student teacher) comes to the front of the rug and sits down in chair.
Teacher calls C's to front, collectively ("OK, everybody come to the rug." or individually ("Walter, hurry up and put your coat away and come up here.").
C's talk to others nearby. Loud talking or moving around gets mildly sanctioned (Walter, sit down now and be quiet"; "Sh, sh, Darrel, Paula.")
C's talk quietly and can touch each other (e.g., Sherry fixes Paula's barrette).
C's may approach an adult but are usually not responded to warmly ("Not now please, tell me later.")
C's may initiate conversation with the teacher but these interchanges are kept brief.
Much calling of names of those C's who are slow to come to the rug, standing up or talking loudly.
(This "transition" time shortens as time goes on.)

3. Rugtime

J. issues a "call to order" ("OK, everybody stop talking. It's my turn now.")
From this point on, talking, even very quiet, is sanctioned.
C's are not to move around or touch each other ("OK, now give yourselves some space.")
C's do talk surreptitiously (turning aside, covering mouth) and are reprimanded. ("Celena, it's my turn," "Darrel, what did I just say? Please listen.")
C's do not approach J. (though they do occasionally approach B. or S. with notes from home or lunch money.
C's are called on if they raise hands but must have topically relevant comments

* J. = teacher; B. = instructional aide; S. = researcher/aide.

in order to keep the floor.

C's can call out in response to J's questions, or with topically relevant comments. If several C's begin to talk, they are stopped ("Sh, sh, my turn.").

C's may be asked to bid for nomination. C's raise hands and J. selects individual to talk. For some rugtime activities (such as sharing), there are norms for selecting children, such as first a girl, then a boy, etc.

Loud talking or moving around are grounds for being moved to the front, near the teacher ("so you can hear better") or getting sent back to their seat. ("Deena, go back to your seat and put your head down." This is rather severe punishment.)

This is a teacher-to-whole-group participant structure, in which the teacher controls (by in large) who talks, when, and about what.

Sharing (an activity within the larger event, Rugtime)

Sharing is opened formulaically by the teacher ("OK, does anyone have anything really important (interesting, exciting) to share?").

C's must raise their hands to get the floor to share, but they may call out topically relevant comments in response to what another has shared.

If several C's call out, J. attempts to regain the floor ("My turn, my turn").

C's anticipate the end of each child's turn, and raise their hands just as the child sharing is finishing.

To signal the end of sharing, J. says "OK, one more and then we have to stop."

After the last child's turn, J. says, "OK, Mrs. B. are you ready for your group?" which simultaneously marks the end of sharing and the beginning of the transition into reading groups.

Reading

Getting into reading groups: Low group (Kittens) leave rug, go to desks and over to their table at side of room. C's talk freely to one another. Names are called and C's are hurried up, etc. C's sit in their "special place". Middle group (Lions) move to desks and then to round table, haggle over seats and gradually get settled. High group (Tigers) move to their own table and get seated. High-plus group (Dolphins) either get workbook assignments from J. on rug and then go to seats, or they work with an adult (parent, researcher) on rug.

C's can approach S. or call from seats (while doing workbooks) for help, but rarely approach J. or B. while they are leading a reading group.

After formal reading lesson and assignment of workbook pages, C's get cardboard carrels and go to their desks. At their seats, C's call out for help and can talk quietly. Moving around aimlessly in the room, talking loudly, or going over to another C's desk gets sanctioned.

The reading lesson proper is a "teacher to small group" participant structure where the teacher initiates and directs the sequencing of activities and controls who will participate and whether participation is individual or collective. Each leader of a reading group (whether J., B., helping parent or researcher) structures the group somewhat differently (nominating C's in a round-robin fashion or allowing C's to bid for a turn, etc.). This seems to depend both on the personal style of the "teacher" and on the level of the group.

All reading lessons can be further segmented into series of activities, such as making flash cards, dictation, reading in the reading books. Each of these activities can then be broken up into sequential patterning of tasks. For example, in the Kittens reading lesson, the activity "reading in the reading books" can be divided into the following pattern of tasks:

One child gets nominated to read.

That child reads a sentence or a whole page (if very short)

The whole group reads the same material in unison.

The pattern then is repeated.

The comparable activity in the high group reading lesson is made up of a different series of tasks. The pattern for this group is as follows:

One child gets nominated to read.

That child reads an entire page.

Another child is nominated. The pattern repeats.

(Implications: more material is covered in the high group. There is more internal coherence to the reading material in that the group goes through the story only once, at a reasonably fast pace (usually in one sitting). In the low group, it takes several days to read a story and the same sentences are read twice before moving on. That is, the story doesn't "read" like a story.)

Story time

Participant structure is the same as for rugtime (Teacher to whole group).
C's are assembled on the rug and told to get comfortable ("give yourselves some space").
As the story is being read, moving around, sitting up on knees (so that other children can't see), or talking are sanctioned.
Before or after the actual reading takes place, there is often a group discussion: about what happened in the story the previous day; who the characters are; what is likely to happen next, etc.
During the discussion, C's raise their hands to get the floor or are nominated by the teacher. Short, topically relevant comments may be called out but if several C's begin to talk at once, the teacher attempts to regain the floor ("Sh, my turn" or "Sh, just one at a time").

Math time - Dolphins (the entire class except for the low reading group)

Participant structure is the same as for rugtime and group discussion at story time.
C's assemble, usually with pencils and J. passes out workbooks. C's are more spread out on the rug (as it is a slightly smaller group than at rugtime) and occasionally one or two will stretch out and lie on their stomachs. This will sometimes provoke a gentle sanction ("sit up Lincoln, we're doing math") and sometimes not.
J. directs questions at individual C's, or calls for bids from the floor.

C's may talk to each other or help one another find the correct page in the workbook but obvious "chatting" or loud talking is sanctioned.
C's are chosen to go to the board (one at a time) and do problems in front of the group. C's may call out from the floor afterwards to evaluate the work.

Handwriting

C's are seated at their desks and given a large piece of writing paper.
The structure is teacher to whole group (but the group is widely spread out).
J. stands at the board where she has drawn lines across it, comparable to the lines on the children's paper. She begins with several letters, usually completing a short word or two. She describes each letter as she makes it, using formulas such as "teenager 't'", "pointy nose 'e'e", "first a line, then a hump" for 'h'. As the year progressed, and children became very adept printers, some of these mnemonic formulas dropped out.
C's call out relevant comments from their seats, saying "Wait, you're going too fast", "I can't see", "I know what that word says!", etc.
Children are prodded to hurry up, sit down in their seats, print carefully, etc.
A good deal of noise is tolerated as the C's are generally working "on task".
After the handwriting at the board is done, J. reads the sentences with the children, sometimes calling on individuals, sometimes letting the children call out in unison.
C's then work at their own pace, if they haven't finished and bring their paper up to one of the adults for approval and evaluation (a check mark, a "very good", a scribbled star).

Free time

C's are free to roam anywhere in the classroom, except in the area of the teacher's desk. This is a student initiated participant structure.
C's join friends or play alone, at their desks, on the rug area, at the blackboard or one of the larger reading tables. There is a game section (along one wall of the room) and C's are free to pick any of the games (blocks, felt materials, board games, etc.) and take them anywhere in the room.
Talking, even loud talking, calling to friends across the room, etc, is allowed.
Running around wildly gets sanctioned, by individual name calling, but mild rough housing on the rug is tolerated.
If the noise level gets "out of hand", the children are sanctioned as a group ("I'm sorry, but I guess you just can't handle free time right now"). C's are told to be quieter or else, if one warning has already been issued, free time ends. In this case, C's are told to put things away and go back to their seats.

The Fourth Grade School and Classroom

The school is a very large (700 students) middle school (grades 4-6) with approximately 50% minority racial and ethnic enrollment. There is very little resegregation inside the school. By district directive school classrooms are racially balanced to represent the same racial mixture as the school. Although white students are somewhat disproportionately represented in high reading and math groups and in the Mentally Gifted Minor program, while Blacks are somewhat disproportionately represented in low reading and math groups and the Learning Assistance -rogram, these groupings have been de-emphasized by the practice of "mainstreaming" where special classes meet for not more than one hour or so a day.

A Typical Day in Fourth Grade

8:30 Bell	Coming in from outside
8:32 - 8:45	Getting settled seatwork on desk roll announcements lunch count
8:45 - 9:55	Reading groups Seatwork
10:00 Bell	Recess
10:15 Bell	In from recess
10:20 - 10:30	Figuring out new spelling words
10:30 - 10:35	Change classes for math
10:35 - 11:25	Math
11:25 - 11:30	Change classes
11:30 - 11:40	Spelling review (or work on unfinished assignments)
11:40 - 11:45	Get ready for lunch clear desks get out book for reading after lunch lunch tickets are distributed
11:45 Bell	Dismissal of whole class by row to line up in the hall - escorted to cafeteria by teacher
12:30 Bell	Coming in from lunch
12:35 - 12:50 (or 1:00)	Silent reading
12:50 - 1:30	Major afternoon lesson: Language Creative writing Social Studies
2:00 - 2:30	Spelling test alternatively: catch-up seatwork period organized P.E. in class art period
2:30 Bell	Dismissal

This segmentation coincides in major respects with the teacher's emic segmentation of the day as indicated in her 'Schedule' drawn up for Parents' Open House night early in the school year:

Schedule

8:30	Roll, lunch money, etc. Handwriting for children
8:45	Reading (3 groups)
10:00	Recess
10:20	Introduction to spelling words
10:30	Math
11:30	Spelling
11:40	Give out lunch tickets
12:30	Silent reading
12:45	Language
1:30	Social Studies
2:10	Spelling test
2:30	Dismissal

Tuesday: (every other Tues.)

1:30 Library

Thursday:

1:30 - 2:30 Art in 104

Occasionally the day's schedule was referred to explicitly. Early in the school year the time for lunch period was changed and the rest of the schedule was changed accordingly. When this happened the teacher posted changes on the blackboard.

Schedule posted on board

8:45	Feelings (low reading group)
9:15	Secret spaces (middle reading group)
9:40	Growing (high reading group)
10:20	Spelling

Schedule posted on board - (cont.)

10:30	Math
11:30	Language
1:00	Library
2:00	Spelling

Teacher's lesson plan and activity grouping

Within these daily segments, it becomes possible to focus on the major speech activities and their corresponding norms of behavior and rights and obligations with regard to speaking and participation. Philips (1972) used the term "participant structures" to characterize the constellation of these norms, and rights and obligations, and showed that these structures influence interaction and participants' perceptions about what is going on and, over time, the amount of learning that takes place. Erickson and his students (e.g., Florio, 1978) have shown that these participant structures change from activity to activity throughout the day, each requiring the child to internalize a new set of norms and strategies in order to behave appropriately.

After four weeks we began systematic audiotaping in the classroom in order to identify these participant structures. During the initial introduction of the tape recorders into fourth grade each child was taken to a desk in the hall outside of the classroom and shown how to operate the tape recorder. After a short recording was made the child listened to the tape. At this time it was also explained that we were working on a project to describe how children learn in classrooms. We said that we needed parents' permission in order to record the child's participation in the lesson and gave each child a letter of explanation and release to be signed by the parent. The tape recorders were less consciously introduced into the first grade class, and after initial questions were answered, children paid little attention. Parent permission forms were returned at Parents' Night and with the teacher's assistance.

We will now briefly characterize various segments of the day with regard to the kind of talk that takes place, focusing most attention on clearly bounded, teacher structured activities, such as reading or math.

Getting settled

Participant structure: individual seatwork

Students are seated at their desks. An assignment is usually put on the children's desks before they come in the room. For the first two months of the school term the work is a dittoed handwriting exercise.

Mrs. Hayden gives explicit instructions concerning work requirements for the beginning of the school day: "When you come in, sit down and begin working on the cursive ditto on your desk. Trace the model first, then imitate the model on the line below it. When you finish, bring your paper to me or Miss Schafer. Then work on your reading or math assignments. If all your work is finished, read your free reading book."

Later in the year the work on the children's desks is usually a dittoed language arts assignment.

Mrs. Hayden sits at her desk in the back of the room and is available for students

approach and ask questions privately.
The rule is that no more than 2 or 3 students should be waiting in line to speak with any of the adults in the classroom:
"Use your heads, people. If you see that there are already 2 or 3 people up here waiting to talk to me, go on to something else for a few minutes until somebody up here sits down."
"I shouldn't see more than 2 people at Miss Schafer's desk."
Students confer quietly with each other: "Yours doesn't look like mine, look." "I'm finished"—"Un unh, you gotta do that still."
Quiet talk is tacitly permitted. Mrs. Hayden monitors the noise and keeps it at an acceptable level with group and individual sanctions:
"Hey, cut the talking, please, and get to work."
"I hear some yakking."
"Danita, I'm waiting for you to get to work."

Named sub-segments of getting settled:

Roll

Mrs. Hayden calls each student's name and students answer "here", or she checks the roll silently and calls only the names of students who are not at their desks: "Has anyone seen Sean this morning?"

Announcements

Mrs. Hayden calls for group attention, "OK people", and gives an outline of the morning's work schedule, directing attention to any assignments written on the blackboard, and the order and times when she will meet with the different reading groups.
Announcements end formulaically with the statement: "You all have work to do." or "Everyone should have plenty to do to keep them busy while I'm working with the reading groups."
Talk, movement around the room or sharpening pencils gets sanctioned during announcements.

Reading (group meetings)

Participant structure: Teacher to small group
Student participation is at the teacher's direction and is mandatory.
Mrs. Hayden moves to the table or aisle of desks where the reading group meets and calls for the reading group to assemble, naming the group by title of the reading book: "Everyone in Pastimes, over here."
Stragglers are told to hurry: "Derrick, we're waiting for you."

Phases of activity within reading group meetings:

Workbook collection

As the children come to the group they stack their reading workbooks in a pile in front of the teacher, open to the page of the assignment.
Mrs. Hayden corrects the workbooks while directing oral reading/recitation.

Oral reading/recitation

Mrs. Hayden goes around the group calling on each student in turn to read a page

in the text aloud or to give answers to questions on the dittoed worksheets that accompany each story unit.

Side envolvement with peers or playthings is not tolerated and seldom occurs.

Discussion of the story

Mrs. Hayden asks comprehension questions about the story, calling on students on the basis of raised hands.

Students who come to the reading group without having prepared the assignment or having read the story well enough to participate in discussion are sent to their seats: "Phyllis, I hope one of these days you decide to join the group by starting to do some work." Alternatively, students may be kept in from recess to finish work on the assignment.

New Assignment

Mrs. Hayden passes the corrected workbooks and answers any questions concerning mistakes, correction, etc.

A new assignment is made in both the reading text and the workbook and the due date is written in the margin of each child's workbook page.

Mrs. Hayden dismisses the reading group and alerts the next group that it will meet in a few minutes. In the interim between reading groups children approach the teacher with questions or problems that have come up while she was working with the small group.

RMS

Participant structure: Teacher to whole class

RMS stands for Reading Management System, which refers to a 'management by objectives' program in reading. These sessions are taught by the team leader, Ms. Girschwin, usually on Tuesday and Thursday mornings.

The content of the lessons is a series of units on various reading "skills", for example, there are units on capitalization, punctuation, possessives, distinguishing fact and opinion, finding the main idea, prefixes, suffixes and their meanings, and so forth.

Prior to the lesson, Ms. Girschwin selects students to pass out paper or set up posters or other visual aids for the lesson: "Alright, who'd like to give everybody a piece of lined paper. Who can do it like a really wonderful grown-up person?" Students hold their hands high, anxious to be picked. "Alright, Derrick, I want to see you give everybody a piece of paper, really quickly and efficiently."

Ms. Girschwin opens each lesson with a reiteration of what she calls the 11th - 13th commandments:

1) no talking, no whispering.
2) no banging, no tapping.
3) raise hands and wait.

(1) and (2) explicitly prohibit the most popular forms of side involvement during lessons and (3) refers to rules for participation in the lesson.

Ms. Girschwin attempts to give everyone an opportunity to contribute; "Somebody else, I see the same hands."
Occasionally a form of chorus in unison is used as a mnemonic technique. Children repeat the same phrase over and over, louder, then softer, and with accompanying finger movements at the teacher's direction.

Silent Reading

Participant structure: individual seatwork
Before the children are dismissed for lunch, Mrs. Hayden reminds them to clear everything off their desks except their books for silent reading.
When the children re-enter the classroom following lunch they are expected to put their coats in the closet, go to their seats, and remain seated quietly with their books out.
Silent reading is the fourth grade counterpart to "rest period" in the lower primary grades. Students do not have to read; they must simply remain seated with their books out. Some students read, others rest their heads on their desk and drowse.
Interaction with peers is proscibed behavior, as is doing other assigned work:
"Amos and Lucy, it's not flirting time."
"Leslie, put your math away. You're supposed to be reading.
The teacher intends that this activity be a calming down period following the overstimulation of lunch.
Sanctions tend to be mild and directed to the noise level of the class: "I have a noisy class." "I don't recall telling anyone to talk."

Seatwork during Reading

Participant structure: individual seatwork
Students who are not in the reading group meeting work at their desks on the morning Getting Settled assignments, reading assignments or math homework assignments.
Quiet talk is tolerated as long as it does not disturb the reading group meeting.
There is a high degree of work interdependence during seatwork. Students cooperatively figure out what to do and compare answers
Moving around the room without an apparently legitimate errand (such as sharpening a pencil), talking loudly, or interrupting the reading group to ask the teacher a question are forms of behavior that gets sanctioned.

Math

Participant structure: Teacher to whole class

Phases of activity within Math:

Changing classes for Math

Mrs. Hayden alerts the class to put away other work and take out their math text and assignments: "Get ready for math."
Slightly more than half of Mrs. Hayden's students take math with Mrs. Perry the other 4th grade teacher on the team. Ten of Mrs. Perry come to Mrs. Hayden's room for math. Grouping is done on the basis of math placement tests at the beginning of the year to form a high

and a low ability group for math instruction. Mrs. Hayden takes the smaller group or behavior problems.

Mrs. Hayden directs the students to change classes for math: "Those students who go to Mrs. Perry's class line up quietly at the door. You may go", She watches at the door as the students file down the hall until they round the corner to Mrs. Perry's room.

Students from Mrs. class arrive and find their seats.

Homework collection/Minute Math

Early in the year Mrs. Hayden is attempting to establish the principle that assigned work must be completed. There is a daily assignment of math homework to be turned in the next day.

Students are to put their completed math homework out on their desks: "I want to see your homework out on your desks."

Also on the children's desk is a dittoed sheet of math problems. This 'Minute Math' test is placed face down on the desks.

Mrs. Hayden says "Alright, you may begin" as a signal that students are to turn over the page and start working. The 'Minute Math' is to be completed in the time it takes Mrs. Hayden to collect homework papers.

Mrs. Hayden walks around the room collecting homework, recording zeros in her roll book for those students who have not completed the assignment: "These zeros stay zeros until those papers are turned in."

The names of students who have not done the homework are also put on the blackboard. These students must stay after class to write a note to their parents explaining that they have not completed the assigned work in math. Mrs. Hayden adds her own short note. Students must have these notes signed by a parent and return them the next day.

Talking is not permitted during 'Minute Math'. The penalty for talking during this or any other tests is that the student's paper is thrown away: "Oh, I hear talking. Do I have to throw papers in the basket?"

By January, most students have learned to complete math homework assignments. The workload lessens somewhat, students are more proficient and most are able to complete assignments during class time. The homework collection/minute math phase is replaced by test on 'multiplication facts' given orally by the teacher.

Daily test scores for each student are graphed on a chart hanging in the classroom.

By March most of the students have earned a paperback book of their choice as a prize for having "perfect scores" on the multiplication tests for ten days in a row.

Mrs. Hayden asks if everyone has finished the test (Minute Math or Multiplication tables). Students may be given a few more minutes to finish.

Students raise their hands in anticipation of being selected to pick up the papers.

One or two students are chosen to pick up papers and put them on Mrs. Hayden's desk.

Boardwork

Students are called on 4 to 8 at a time to work problems on the blackboard in front of the class.

Each student gets a turn to put a problem on the board and solve it.

Students may make quiet comments concerning the boardwork or call out agreement or disagreement with the solution: "Look how Reggie makes his nines. He just go like that." "That's what I got."

The whole class then checks each problem orally in unison led by the teacher.
In May and June the homework collection/test phase of lessons is discontinued.
Math problems are written on the blackboard when Mrs. Perry enters the room.
Students work the problems individually at their desks.
Mrs. Hanson calls on individual students for their answers. She asks if anybody got a different answer and calls for a show of hands to indicate agreement with the various answers.
The whole class then checks each problem orally in unison to see who is right.
Students mark their own papers or exchange them with a partner for correction based on the answers to the problems on the board.

New Lesson

Mrs. Hayden stands at the front of the class and introduces the next unit in the math text.
The new lesson is usually developed through question and answer recitation.
Students get called on by raising their hands.
Alternatively, Students may be called on to read segments of the text aloud or the teacher leads a call and response drill on a particular point:

T: 3 x 4 apples
Ss: 12 apples
T: 3 x 4 shoes
Ss: 12 shoes
T: 3 x 4 tens
Ss: 12 tens

Talking or other side involvement is not tolerated.

New Assignment

Mrs. Hayden makes a new assignment, typically one or two pages in the math text and a dittoed worksheet.
The teacher works through 2 or 3 problems as an example, calling on individual students or calling for group responses in unison.

Worktime for Assignment

This phase of math is a period of time for seatwork on the new assignment.
Students may talk quietly, sharpen pencils and approach adults in the classroom for help, as in other seatwork activities.
Students who need extra help may be assigned to work individually with the math aide who comes to the class for this period.
During this time Mrs. Hayden corrects the various math assignments or tests and passes back corrected work.
As she corrects papers she may call individual students to her desk to go over persistent errors.

Changing back

Mrs. Hayden directs Mrs. Perry's students to line up at the door and then dismisses them to return to their regular classroom.
Mrs. Hayden's students returning from Mrs. Perry's class files into the room and takes their seats.
Coming into the room noisily will be sanctioned. Students are sent back into the

hall and told to come in again, quietly.

Spelling

Spelling is a slot activity in that it fits into a small span of time between other major activities, for example, the 10 minute slot following recess --10:20 - 10:30 --before math, or after math -- 11:30 - 11:40 -- before lunch.
Spelling has a recurring weekly cycle in addition to the daily unit of work.

Introduction to new words--Monday

Participant structure: Teacher to whole class
Students have a weekly list of new and review spelling words.
At the beginning of the school day or before the children come into the classroom, Mrs. Hayden writes the new spelling words on the blackboard omitting the vowels; just the consonants are on the board, with a space for the omitted vowels: SP_RKL_D
During the 10:30 or 11:30 slot, the children figure out the new spelling words.
Mrs. Hayden stands at the blackboard and calls on individual students to guess the missing vowels.
Verbal participation is voluntary, on the basis of raised hands.
There is some competition between students trying to guess what the words are. Students who think they know wave their hands in the air and call "ooh ooh" wanting to be called on, or "Darn! That's what I was gonna say." when another student supplies the correct vowel or guesses the word.
After the new words are identified, Mrs. Hayden leads the class in spelling the words aloud in unison. The format for this is a visualizing activity, as follows: Say the word. Point to each letter as you say each letter. Look at the word. Close your eyes and visualize the word. Write the word in the air with your index finger, saying each letter as you write it. Open your eyes and look at the word.
After a few rounds of the visualizing activity in unison, Mrs. Hayden calls on individual students to spell the word while keeping their eyes closed.

Spelling Assignments - Tuesday and Wednesday

Participant structure: individual seatwork

Spelling assignments are incorporated in the morning 'getting settled' work assignments.
On Tuesday, students are given a dittoed list of all the new and review spelling words for the week.
Students are assigned to write a sentence using each of the spelling words.
On Wednesday the students are given a dittoed spelling worksheet.
Typical exercises include:
1) write the words in alphabetical order
2) write the words which are verbs (doing)
3) write the nouns (person, place, or thing)
4) How many words have one syllable? two? three?
5) unscramble the following words.
6) write the word 'typewriter' and make as many words as you can from the letters.

Review

Spelling review is a slot activity. Students are also given about 10 minutes to review before a spelling test.

Spelling review is handled in a variety of ways;

- As a whole group activity led by the teacher. The visualizing routine is used, as described above.
- As a self selected activity with a partner. Students are told that they may pick a partner and study their spelling words. Students also have the option of doing other work individually at their desks. Students are told to use "whatever method of study works for you." Usually students elect to take turns testing each other on the spelling list.
- As an individual seatwork activity. Students sit at their desks and write each word without looking, then check it against the dittoed spelling list. This form of study is used frequently as a review before a spelling test.

Test - Tuesday, Thursday and Friday

Participant structure: Teacher to whole group

Mrs. Hayden tells the students to clear everything off their desks except for a pencil.

Students raise their hands in anticipation of being selected to pass out paper.

One student is called on: "Terry, would you give everybody a piece of the small lined paper, please."

Mrs. Hayden calls out each word, uses it in a sentence and then repeats the word.

If a student is seen to be cheating, for example, by looking on a list of words sticking out of the desk, Mrs. Hayden throws the spelling paper in the wastebasket. This is also the penalty for talking.

At the end of the test Mrs. Hayden goes around to each student's desk and corrects the test.

Mispelled words are to be written ten times.

Spelling tests are usually the last activity of the day. Students are dismissed individually as the tests are corrected or the ten times word lists are completed.

Ecosystems (Science)

Participant structure: six small groups with student leaders

Ecosystems is a SCIS observational 'learning by doing' science unit. This activity took place from March through May. Six permanent ecosystems groups were formed by Mrs. Hayden, each with a designated student as the group leader. Mrs. Hayden and Mrs. Perry exchanged classrooms to conduct formal ecosystems activities.

Each group has an aquarium with algae, daphnia, guppies and snails, and a terrarium with alfalfa, clover, rye grass and crickets. Each child also has an individual cup garden of peas and beans.

Learning by doing activities involve setting up the aquariums and terrariums and keeping records of changes in population and environment. Children are charged with maintaining the aquariums and terrariums, watering, fish-feeding, etc., outside of the official science activity time.

After lunch, Mrs. Hayden announces that Mrs. will be taking over the class for ecosystems and that she expects respect and helpfulness.
Mrs. Hayden leaves the room and Mrs. arrives.
Mrs. gives general instructions at the beginning of the activity and writes the official terms to be used in recording observations on the blackboard.
A large portion of the period is taken up with dispensing materials: containers labels, observation sheets, soil, water, seeds and wildlife.
Each group is assigned an area of desks as a work space. Children pick up the aquariums and terrariums from the ecosystems table at the front of the room and take them to their group locations.
Mrs. calls each group leader to come to the front of the room and pick up supplies for the group, (thermometers, observation sheets, etc.) Although each group has named and labeled their aquariums and terrariums, the groups are called by the name of the group leader, eg. Ellen's group, Leslie's group.
A great deal of noise and movement is tolerated during group meetings. Disputes within and between groups are frequent -- arguments over who gets to do what, charges that someone is splashing water with the thermometer or hogging the water bottle, etc.
Lively discussions also occur -- debate over the relative merits of guppies vs. goldfish, talk of infanticide among guppies.
Children approach the teacher to ask questions and complain about the behavior of other children.
The teacher does not intervene in children's disputes.
When Mrs. stands at the blackboard and calls for the attention of the class the hubbub is supposed to stop: "Boys and girls, I'm going to write the names of the plants on the board. These are the official names."
Talk or movement around the room when the teacher is talking gets sanctioned. Children are sent out into the hall, made to stand in front of the room facing the blackboard, or their names are written on the board to indicate that they must go to Mrs. room after school for detention.
At the end of the hour, Mrs. leaves the room without comment, leaving the children involved in recording their observations.
Mrs. Hayden returns to the classroom and alerts the group to the next activity. Children are directed to clean up and return the terrariums, aquariums and other equipment to the ecosystems table.

Language, Writing, 'Model' Lessons

Participant structure: Teacher to whole class
Language, writing and model lessons taught by district personnel are teacher to whole class activities with very similar formats.
Phases within these activities:
Lesson (or pre-writing activity)
Assignment and check that children understand what to do
Seatwork on assignment

Lesson

Mrs. Hayden alerts the class to the change in activities: "Alright people, you may put your reading books away and take out your language books."

Before starting the lesson Mrs. Hayden attempts to secure group attention, sanctioning talking, movement and other forms of inattentiveness;

> "I did not say to talk."
> "Where's your language book, Sandra?"
> "Kitty, there's no need for you to sharpen your pencil right now."
> "Quit playing with pencils. Babies do that, not grown up fourth graders."

The body of the lesson is developed through question and answer recitation. Children raise their hands to be called on.
Frequently an overhead projector is used, or Mrs. Hayden writes the words or sentences that the children suggest on the blackboard.
Children are exhorted to listen very carefully and apply what they know.
Side involvements or day dreaming gets sanctioned: "Gabriel's off in Timbuktu, again. Pay attention, man."

Assignment and check that children understand what to do

Mrs. Hayden reads the directions for the assignment aloud, or calls on students to read aloud.
The first 2 or 3 questions on the assignment are done in front of the class as an example: "OK, what will go in the first space? Margo, What are we going to write?" "OK, fine. How do you know?"
In a writing assignment one complete example of the exercise is done as a whole group activity, for example, the class collectively writes an expository paragraph containing an assertion, proof, and conclusion. Mrs. Hayden then goes around the room asking each child in turn to tell what he or she is going to write about: "Leslie, what is your assertion?"

Seatwork on the assignment

Participant structure: Individual seatwork as described in 'Getting Settled'.
Assignments usually must be handed in before being dismissed to go home. Alternatively, they are due first thing in the morning the next day.

Library

Library activities vary. Usually children wander around the library with a friend looking for a book. When they have selected a book children are dismissed individually to go back to the classroom as they check out with the librarian aides.
Other activities are formally conducted by the librarian:
giving a guided tour of the library
reading a story aloud to the class
displaying special interest books, sports, mysteries, etc.
giving s short lesson on using library reference materials

Differential Access to Learning Opportunities

The main thrust of our research has been under this heading; the work reported in these studies made by Collins, Michaels, Michaels and Cook Gumperz and Simone and Murphy, All document in different skill areas how differential learning

APPENDIX TWO

1. Beyond Ethnography: Some Uses of Sociolinguistics for Understanding Classroom Environments
2. Language and Communicative Influences on School Performance
3. A Study of Sharing Time with First Grade Students: Discourse Narratives in the Classroom
4. Sharing Time Revisited
5. Sharing Time: Children's Narrative Styles and Differential Access to Literacy
6. The Importance of Conversational Discourse Strategies in the Acquisition of Literacy
7. Differential Treatment in Reading Instruction
8. Spoken Language Strategies and Reading Acquisition
9. Interactive Styles in Instructional Talk
10. Sense of Story: Influences on Children's Storytelling Ability
11. Report on Narrative Discourse Study
12. Situational Properties of Competence: A Case Study of One Child's Behavior in Two Educational Settings
13. Families, Schools and Children: The Home Communicative Environment Study

BEYOND ETHNOGRAPHY
SOME USES OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS FOR UNDERSTANDING CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENTS

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In this paper we will survey some recent directions in the ethnographic study of classroom interaction and then suggest that the analysis of language and conversations in classrooms can provide us with both a perspective, and some evidence, for solutions to problems of urban schools and children.

Clearly schooling as such is not the sole cause of educational failure. Society has its own powerful selection mechanisms which may override even the effect of many classroom reforms (Ogbu 1978); and yet it is also true that if we look beyond the macro trends to individual careers, many students of minority background do quite well, under conditions that lead others to fail. To understand modern educational problems we need to know how and by what mechanisms cultural, political and economic factors interact with specific teaching contexts to affect the acquisition of knowledge and skill. That is, we need to provide for the linking of explanations at the level of institutional processes of cultural transmissions right through to the understanding of the details of the daily practice of teachers and children in classrooms.

Interesting initial insights into what takes place in the classroom come from the early autobiographically oriented writings of teachers themselves, such as Holt (1964), Kohl (1967), and Kozol (1967). These writings pointed to the contrast between the official descriptions of curricula and program goals and what actually takes place in the classroom. They provided an impetus to the increasing awareness of the need for ethnographi—that is, situationally specific—descriptions of the processes of conducting lessons and organizing classrooms as environments for learning, within many different school situations.

Our growing understanding of the classroom environment can be attributed to these ethnographic studies; we will now summarize briefly some findings for research on classrooms as social environments.

The Ethnographic Evidence for the Classroom as a Social Environment

Some of the most revealing of the recent classroom ethnographies concentrate on the contrast between home and classroom learning experiences. In one of the first and most influential of these, Philips (1972) compared patterns of classroom participation among reservation-reared Indian children, and among non-Indian children. She found that the Indian children participated more enthusiastically and performed more effectively in classroom contexts which minimized the obligation of individual students to perform in public contexts and the need for teachers to control performance styles and correct errors. Preferences for these contexts reflected the kinds of relationships that the children were accustomed to on the reservation, where lateral networks of children in groups were more important than hierarchical role-differentiated networks of adults and children. Philips attributes the generally poor school performance of Indian children to the far greater frequency in conventional classrooms of conditions which, for them, create unfamiliar and threatening frameworks of participation. She proposed the notion of "participant structure" to characterize the constellation of norms, mutual rights and obligations that shape social relationshps, determine participants' perceptions about what goes on, and influence learning. Philips' findings are supported by a number of other ethnographic investigations where learning or failure to learn have been attributed to discontinuities between the participant structures of the home and community and those of the school: Native Americans (Cazden & John, 1971;

Dumont, 1972), Afro-Americans (Heath, 1977; Kochman, 1972; Labov, 1972), Hawaiians (Boggs, 1972), rural Appalachian whites (Heath, 1977), and working class British (Bernstein, 1974) have all been studied.

These studies highlight the point that children's responses to school tasks are directly influenced by values and presuppositions learned in the home. They demonstrate moreover that classroom resources or social groupings of teachers and students are not the primary determinants of learning. What is important is what is communicated in the classroom as a result of a complex process of interaction between educational goals, background knowledge, and what various participants over time perceive as taking place.

How can we measure or study this communication process? The bulk of the evaluational measures of classroom performance that have been used over the last few decades in such systems as the Flanders System of Interaction Analysis (1967) build on the tradition of small group studies developed by Bales, Anderson, and others.

These methods have been valuable in pointing to important differences between suburban and inner city classrooms. Leacock (1969), who used interaction analysis in connection with her ethnographic work, found teachers in inner city environments to be more controlling, more critical, and less accepting of children's learning errors than their suburban colleagues. She argues that since classrooms are part of schools and that since teachers operate within a system of educational knowledge and ideology, this ideology is bound to influence teachers' strategies. That is, the prevailing socio-cultural attitudes affect teachers' evaluations in specific classroom events and although these appear momentary in any observation, if they influence recorded evaluations,

they are then fed back into the bureaucratically constructed career profile of individual children. Further impressive evidence for the importance of teachers' socially conditioned expectations influencing evaluations and in determining individuals' progress is given by Rist (1970). In this way we can begin to see how social factors and the climate of opinion outside of the classroom may enter into the classroom learning process.

But useful as small group measures are in demonstrating that cultural differences do create problems in the classroom, evaluation measures have been unable to account for the full effects of classroom environments. One difficulty is that the coder's interpretation of behavior rather than the actual behavior is the basis for analysis. When interpretations of behavior differ as they do in most ethnically mixed classrooms, there is no way to safeguard against cultural bias in evaluating performance and to distinguish between differences in cultural style and differences in ability. Without reference to the actual process of interaction, nothing can be said about how participants react to and make sense out of particular tasks.

Some qualitative insights into everyday processes of classroom interaction come from the micro-ethnographic analyses of Erickson and his students (Florio, 1978). Among other things this work has shown that it cannot be assumed, as the earlier small group analysts had assumed, that the classroom constitutes an undifferentiated structure where teacher and child interact as individuals. Interaction processes are at work within each setting that lead to subgroup formation and determine the contexts which guide and channel behavior.

The value of these methods is that they provide replicable ways of discovering types of behavior that are not ordinarily commented on but which nevertheless guide interaction, and reveal the unstated conventions

that may influence teacher evaluations of student performance. Erickson's study of nursery schools, for example, shows that in the course of a typical class session the children move sequentially through different types of participant structures. Some of these have established names such as 'show and tell,' 'story telling,' others do not. But each involves different modes of cooperation and learning, as well as rules for the evaluation of behavior and for the interpretation of what goes on. Children must learn what these structures are, they must know how transitions between structures are signalled, what behavioral strategies are required to gain the teacher's attention or to secure cooperation of the peer group. Knowledge of strategies appropriate to these structures is a precondition for obtaining access to learning.

McDermott applied similar techniques of nonverbal analysis (1978) to an investigation of the process of getting turns at reading in an urban elementary school. He was able to show that because of the organization of the students into separate sub-groups and because of the teacher's definition of the lower group as requiring more explicit and consistent direction, much of the teacher's time with that group is spent in looking ar nd the room to ward off possible interruptions and similar kinds of control behavior.

McDermott's findings recall those of an earlier informal ethnographic account carried out in Berkeley (Lewis, 1970), which describes a reading lesson in which children seated in an informal group arrangement are successively called on to read sentences in a story. When a Black child fails to make a phonetic distinction between the vowels in pin and pen, the teacher, who had recently been to a lecture on Black dialect and had

learned that a) failure to make this distinction is a feature of the dialect of many low reading Black children, and b) 'proper pronunciation' is a precondition to reading, writes the two words on the board and asks the child to pronounce the two words in isolation. When the child still does not make the distinction, she removes the child from the group and asks him to join another low reader in the corner of the room, telling him to practice his letters. In the minutes that followed this incident, th two children who had been singled out took a reading game and started to work with it enthusiastically, making a considerable amount of noise, whereupon the teacher said: "stop playing and start working." In interpreting what went on here, it must be noted that the linguistic fact at issue here, the failure to make a distinction between pin and pen, is characteristic of approximately 80 percent of the Black children and 40 percent of the White children in California. In that very group, in fact, there was a White child who also did not distinguish between the two vowels, but perhaps because of the association of ethnicity with the phonetic feature involved, the teacher failed to notice this. In any case, it seems doubtful that the child who was asked to leave the reading group understood the reason for his being singled out; the effect of this incident was to remove the child from situations from which he might have learned.

In each of these examples something is being conveyed either through words, or movements or gestures, which when interpreted by participants in relation to their background social knowledge serves to channel interaction. Our special task, if we are to provide the linking that we spoke of in the beginning of this paper, is to explore further the relationships

between words, vocal, and kinesic systems and the interpretive procedures of participants. We know that children, teachers, and outside observers may reach different understandings depending on their social experience and their knowledge of the signals that participants use. It is for these reasons that we need to know more about the process by which specific social meanings and conventions are created through conversational exchanges and to explore more fully the uses of language in the classroom.

Micro-ethnographic studies of non-verbal behaviors are highly successful in revealing previously unnoticed features and unspoken norms of subgroup formation and social presuppositions which affect classroom learning, but we also need to know more about specific patterns and conventions of verbal usage.

Language in the Classroom

Perhaps the best known and the most recent systems for analyzing classroom language are those of Bellack (1966), and of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975); both of these systems propose that the structure of discourse in the classroom arises from sequential constraints on selection such that one type of act is likely to follow or be followed by others of specific types. That is, verbal interactions among teachers and students in a classroom are conceptualized as moves in a Wittgensteinian language game that follows implicit rules of behavior. Further, the Sinclair and Coulthard system has finer detail in that it specifies the role of both grammatical forms and content in the functioning of these classroom moves.

Though an important step forward, both of these analyses are limited by the fact that they are based on data collected in experimental situations

where teachers were instructed to teach predetermined lessons and what was examined were their actual lectures. The social significance of classroom speech is evaluated in terms of profiles of utterance functions. Yet since function is taken as a given, what is in fact studied is the significance of teachers' and students' moves in relation to the stated lesson goal.

To explore the ways in which social meanings are generated and interpretation of specific sequences of words and actions given, within the flow of ordinary classroom talk, it is perhaps necessary to take an approach which starts with the central issue of the attribution of meaning and intent to specific utterances both in and outside of the classroom. Such an approach, as that taken by the linguistic pragmaticists to the study of adult-child verbal interaction, requires that classroom talk be seen as functioning in its essential forms as any other conversational exchange. The linguistic pragmatics approach builds on the speech acts theorists' distinction between propositional content and illocutionary force, to focus on participants' interpretation of message intent (Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-Kernan, 1977; Garvey, 1975; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976). The focus of the analysis here is on what Searle calls "utterers' meaning" (1975), that is, what a speaker intends to achieve by an utterance. By taking account of the linguistic and extra-linguistic settings in which a sentence occurs, it can be shown that speakers and listeners regularly build on context-dependent presuppositions to arrive at interpretations which are often quite different from their literal meanings. Given this approach, if a teacher is heard to make a statement such as 'I don't see any hands' when a question has been asked

and several children begin to call out, this statement can be analyzed as a request for a show of hands and a directive to be quiet. Pragmatic analyses explain some highly significant aspects of the conduct of conversations. But they assume that linguistic mechanisms involved in interpretation of speakers' intent can be analyzed entirely in terms of grammar and lexicon, and that what the content is can be determined on the basis of extra-linguistic information. When, as is the case in a classroom, setting and participants are constant, it is assumed that all conversationalists share one definition of the situation. There is no attempt to account for the changing nature of participant structures and for the role of verbal and nonverbal signs in signalling these changes.

Furthermore the major problem of urban education, the problem of differential learning resulting from the varying effects that similar teaching strategies and classroom conversational sequences may have on students of different background, is not dealt with. This aspect was taken up in a recently completed year-long study by Cazden and Mehan which focuses directly on participant structures. Cazden served as the teacher in an ethnically mixed urban classroom and in the course of her daily activities was able to build a number of interesting experiments into her teaching schedule. One of the main concerns of this study was to show how small group participant structures are reflected in conversational practices and to elucidate teachers' and students' discourse st: :egies. Among the important findings cited in preliminary reports are, that while children and adults have different ways of formulating what are functionally similar tasks, teachers on the whole rely more on lexical specificity while children rely more on context, these differences

do not result in differences in efficiency of communication or teaching efficiency. (For similar findings, see Gumperz & Herasimchuk, 1972; Cook-Gumperz, 1977.)

Cazden and Mehan take an interactive approach which concentrates on the mechanisms through which turns at speaking are assigned and verbal interaction is controlled. Their theory builds on the ethnomethodological studies of conversation (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1969; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). What is examined are constraints on sequencing of utterances as they appear in such naturally occurring instructional routines such as teaching the content of a story, teaching problem so ving strategies, and giving instructions.

Ethnomethodological studies of conversation have made a basic contribution to sociolinguistics by demonstrating that speaking is not simply a matter of individuals saying what they want, when they want to say it. Sacks and Schegloff have pointed out that conversations of all kinds are characterized by: one, adjacency pairs, such as question-answer, greeting-greeting, request-acknowledgement, where a first utterance creates a necessary condition for the second; and two, that such intersentential ties constitute an important resource for conversational management (Sacks & Schegloff, 1975). Following a similar line of reasoning Mehan demonstrates that instructional talk differs from casual conversation in that it is based on a tripartite structure of initiation-response-evaluation.

Findings such as these clearly show that participant structures are in large part created and sustained through discourse conventions. Like non-verbal signs these discourse conventions are rarely overtly

discussed and must be learned indirectly through active participation in th. .nstructional process. We can assume that to the extent that learning is a function of the ability to sustain interaction, the child's ability to control and utilize these conventions is an important determinant of educational success. But focus on the structural underpinnings of verbal interaction is not enough. We must go on to determine how this discourse knowledge is acquired and practiced in specific educational contexts; and how differential practices can result in educational evaluations that are based on communicative misunderstandings. To do this we require an ever fuller theory of the processes of communication.

One way of beginning to accomplish this goal is to apply methods which build on the linguistic pragmaticists' distinction between propositional content or literal meaning and illocutionary force or intended effect to analyze conversational management in classroom activities. Work carried out in Berkeley during the last few years has begun to develop methods for analyzing verbal strategies and to isolate features of the verbal message which are rhythmically coordinated with nonverbal behavior and which also reflect the operation of participant structures (Bennett, Erickson, Gumperz, 1976; Gumperz & Herasimchuk, 1975; Gumperz, 1976). When applied to classroom interaction these linguistic measures of verbal behavior can serve not only to simplify analytical techniques but can also enable us to establish a more direct relationship between the interpretation of specific utterances and what goes on in the classroom.

The initial problem that any potential conversationalist faces is to create what Erving Goffman has called conversational involvement, that is, to gain others' attention and to sustain their participation in talk.

To do so participants must at least in very general terms--explicitly or implicitly--agree on what the interaction is about. That is, even though they may differ on specific details of what is meant at any one time, they must at least share some basic expectations as to where the talk is going, or what is likely to follow. Without this sharedness, interactants are likely to lose interest, interactions tend to be brief or perfunctory, and productive exchanges are unlikely to result.

When participants are questioned or analysts are asked to describe a conversational sequence, they are likely to resort to descriptive labels such as: A was telling a story about X, explaining why he/she did X, teaching B how to do X, giving a lecture about X, interrogating B about X, or chatting with B about X. Such descriptive statements are generalizable in terms of what ethnographers of communication have called speech events (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972) or psychologists and discourse analysts call scripts, frames, or schemata (Tannen, 1979; Shank & Abelson, 1977). One might be tempted therefore to argue that the study of conversation must begin by describing and listing these broader interactional units and then go on to state how and under what conditions they are used, and what styles of speaking they require. This type of description presents no serious problem in the case of the bounded event, such as ritual performances, formal lectures, or even for staged experimental classroom lessons; but, everyday conversation does not take the form of such set routines. The very labels we use are often quite different from what we really intend to do. If I say to some one, "Let's have a chat sometime," I may not intend to engage in the activity of casual and leisurely talk implied by the term "chatting". Nor is it possible to predict what activity is being

enacted simply by specifying what is known beforehand of the extra-linguistic setting, and giving the social characteristics and personal goals of participants and the content of what is being said (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1976). Verbal interactions of all kinds, formal and informal, rarely take the form of set sequentially specifiable routines. Most talk is characterized by frequent and often quite subtle shifts in focus and maintenance of conversational involvement which requires that participants must be able to recognize and follow these shifts.

The theoretical notion on which our analysis rests is the concept of conversational cooperation: the situated process by which participants in a conversation assess other participants' intentions and on which they base their responses. Conversational cooperation is commonly understood to refer to the assumptions that conversationalists must make about each others' contributions and to the conversational principles they rely on in judging intent. It is also evident however that cooperation implies joint action involving what students of nonverbal communication have called speakership and listenership signals. This process involves not only communication through the uses of words in their literal or illocutionary meaning, but builds upon the construction across time of negotiated and situationally specific conventions for understanding. Interpretation of actual sequences also relies upon the speaker's and listener's knowledge of how to conduct and interpret live performances. The features previously referred to as paralinguistic--intonation, stress, as well as rhythms and contrastive shifts of phonetic values--are all ways of conveying meaning that add to or alter the meaning of semantic choices.

To the extent that we can talk about conversations being governed and controlled by shared expectations, we must assume that these expectations

are signalled and sharedness is negotiated as part of the interaction itself. Such linguistic signalling of communicative intent involves signs which go beyond what is usually included in the linguists' analyses of grammar and lexicon. And it is for this process that we will use the term contextualization convention, to refer to the non-lexical and non-grammatical, yet nevertheless linguistic, cues involved in conversational management.

One way in which the contextualization conventions function is to serve as guide posts or measuring sticks for the progress of the conversational interaction. We use our knowledge of grammar, lexicon, as well as contextualization conventions and whatever background information we have about settings and participants to decide on what activity is being signalled, or to establish likely communicative goals and outcomes. We then build on these predictions to identify the communicative intent whi underlies particular utterances. Contextualization conventions channel interpretations in one direction or another. The basic assumption is that something is being communicated. What is at issue is how it is to be interpreted. The judgments involved are contingent judgments, they are either confirmed or disproved by what happens subsequently. If they are confirmed our expectations are reinforced, if they are disconfirmed we try to recode what we have heard and change our expectations of goals, outcomes, or speakers intent.

Contextualization conventions are acquired as a result of a speaker's actual interactive experience, that is, as a result of an individual's participation in particular networks of relationship (Gumperz, 1976) and where these networks differ as they do in ethnically mixed settings, or in

interaction between children and adults, varying conventions arise (Cook-Gumperz, 1978), as in the following example:

> Cora and Sally are standing at a play table which has some scrap paper and a stapler on it. They are working at stapling together pieces of paper. They have taken over the table from another child who had beeen using it as a police station and had referred to the table as his police desk. The girls had come to share the table, saying "We are the teachers"; after a short while the other child left. Marty, another child, comes along and sits down at the table as the stapling episode begins.

(1) S: (touching table, as M comes up) This is our desk. Nobody can come in our office. (M sits down opposite teacher)

(2) C: (taking no notice of M) No, we show the kids, right.

(3) S: We working.

(4) C: Yea.

(5) S: Nobody can come in. (C and S look at each other while C replies)

(6) C: No.

(7) S: Then we ... teaching (as M reaches for the stapler)

(8) S: NO. He not can't come in.

(9) C: No, no, we're teachers.

Note how the game develops naturally. There is no introduction such as "let's play school", no attempt to formulate the activity verbally by saying "we're playing teachers", just simple statements such as "This is our desk" (1), "We working" (3), etc. The fact that C responds to S's shift from conversational tone and copies her declarative style is the only signal we have that the activity of playing teachers has been agreed upon. The activity, moreover, lasts only as long as the same prosodic style is maintained. Once it is recognized what game is being played, this recognition feeds back into an interpretation of the component messages. For example, the phrase "no" occurs several times, each time with different situated meaning. In (2) and (6) it is simply a response suggesting agreement

with S's preceding statement. The loud "NO" (8) marks a stylistic departure and signals a command addressed to M so that the meaning is "don't". While in (9) the return to the prosody and rhythm of (6) and (7) suggests that "no" is meant as game talk. Similarly the fact that "nobody can come in" receives the same prosodic treatment as "we're teachers" identifies it as game structuring contextualization convention. The teaching game is also built up through a semantic tie between the use of "our office" and the statement later on "we teaching", into which the "Nobody can come in" fits as a statement about being a teacher in the office. The idea of "being teachers" is gradually developed from the two children's entry into the situation, as they took over the play table from another child.

In this short episode we can perhaps begin to see that there is nothing about these contextualization conventions that is totally unfamiliar to adults; the point is that the frequency with which they are used and the signalling load they carry are likely to be unfamiliar to adults. When adults use such intonation and semantic ties they are likely to surround them with qualifying phrases and other lexical acknowledgements which make up a different situated use of the same practices and hence have a different communicated value.

The question we must finally ask, then, is what do these subtle and until recently apparently marginal differences of communicative and interpretive ability mean for the child in the classroom? When, because of our differences in social background we do not recognize the meaning potential of an utterance sequence we are usually in the immediate situation forced to make a judgment of communicative intent without realizing the extent or consequence of our lack of knowledge. Across time and given the realities of classroom situations, if such differences continue, these interpretive

processes can easily lead to culturally biased evaluations of performance, especially in ethnically mixed classrooms where interpretive problems arising from developmental differences in contextualization conventions are compounded by ethnic differences. In this way we can begin to show how verbal communication can be analyzed to find interactional explanations for some of the problems of teachers in classrooms that Rist, Leacock, and others have identified.

These problems can in fact be reformulated, for although the language differences looked at in terms of linguistic values are small, and the processes of conversational interpretation are subtle, the classroom environment generated by these small and subtle differences is powerfully influential. These factors begin to provide an answer to the question of what is is about the school and classroom environment that leads some children to learn and others to fall behind which has long remained an unsolved problem. That factors other than isolated differences in language or cultural background are at issue has been demonstrated by the research of the 1960's and early 1970's. The hypotheses tested then which derived from cultural deprivation, and from linguistic deficit and difference models, were found to be incapable of explaining the failure of minority children to achieve in urban schools (Baratz & Baratz, 1971; Labov, 1969; Melmed, 1971; Simons, 1974, 1976; Simons & Johnson, 1974).

We now know that what the child learns in school is determined by a comvination of forces. Ogbu's recent work, for example, has convincingly shown that the goals, policies, and practices of the society at large, the opportunities and role models that society provides for individuals of minority background significantly affect motivation to learn (1977).

But while the motivation to learn is undoubtedly influenced by the world outside of the school, the daily process of communication difficulties within the classroom, and the stress that lack of support for personal, and familial, communication patterns generate for a growing child, can produce a situation of progressive detachment from school activities and from school achievement:[1] that is, unless the myriad of small but significant communicative features making up a classroom environment is better understood.

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[1] Perhaps the most suggestive evidence for the role of classroom environments comes from statistics on school performance which show that the gap in average achievement level between middle class children and poor or minority children increases as a function of grade level (Gibson, 1965; Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 1975; Katz, 1964).

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE INFLUENCES ON SCHOOL PERFORMANCE*

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Schools make important and pervasive language demands upon children which require them to use and to think about language differently than they do at home. The degree to which children are able to meet these demands will to a great extent determine their success in school.

Two areas of language usage are affected. The first, which has received the greatest amount of attention so far has to do with literacy. Elementary school curricular are built around the teaching of literacy and secondary school assumes it as a prerequisite to learning. Learning to read is the most important task facing children in school since much of what is learned there is communicated through written texts. The demands that the acquisition of literacy skills make revolve around the differences between written texts and informal spoken conversation; and the ability to monitor your own language performance often called 'metalinguistic ability'.

The second area where school makes new language demands is in the classroom where children must learn to accommodate to the communicative conventions of teachers and peers who do not share their background and to the fact that their behavior is subjected to continued evaluation. They must develop new interactional and interpretive skills to participate effectively in classroom activities, to gain access to learning opportunity as well as to demonstrate what they have learned.

In this paper we will present a brief discussion of what is known about these two areas of language use and then attempt to show that understanding of these language demands can yield new insights into the educational problems of minority students.

Classroom Communication

We begin with the second problem area, the question of verbal interaction

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In the classroom. Sociologists and anthropologists have long argued that entry into school marks a major social transition (Bernstein, 1971). The child coming to class for the first time must learn to interact and cooperate both with peers and adults outside his home network who do not share his background. This has important implications both for interaction as such and for the transmission of information. An important precondition, if communication is to take place at all, is that a speaker be able to capture and hold an audience's attention for a sufficiently long time to get a point across. Recent research in conversational analysis focusing on what is involved in the ability to generate and maintain conversational involvement and to be persuasive or rhetorically effective has demonstrated that much more is needed than knowledge of the lexicon and grammar and the sharing of attitudes and abstract cultural values. Signalling of intent in conversation relies heavily on matters of linguistic form such as use of idiomatic expressions or formulaic utterances, use of prosodic cues, selection of lexical, phonological and syntactic options and turn taking and sequencing strategies. These contextualization cues as they have been called, are interpreted in accordance with unverbalized conventions, created and learned in the course of interactive experience. They function both to decode particular messages and to generate expectation, which enable the listener to fill in information which was left unsaid and determine what the activity is about.

As long as the child remains at home and within the family circle, communication takes place within an atmosphere of shared background knowledge, where it can be assumed that interpretive conventions are shared and where the audience is able to compensate for vagueness or lack of explicitness in the child's talk. In the classroom especially in our modern culturally diverse urban settings, assumptions about shared background no longer hold and the child must become alert to and learn to compensate for differences in contextualization conventions.

The problems of developing new language and strategies are compounded by the fact that in the initial stages of schooling the child must adapt to previously unaccustomed modes of behavior. Before much content is taught at all the new students have to learn to work cooperatively in groups, and adapt to a fixed, strictly regulated, daily schedule involving frequent shifts in activity and requiring long periods of concentration devoted to a single task. Communicatively this means that they must develop their attention span

so as to listen to long and detailed adult instruction. To gain access to learning opportunities they need strategies for getting the floor or getting the teacher's attention and generally acquire a sense of when to talk and what to say.

Recent micro-analyses of classroom interaction show that much of the instruction during the early school years concentrates on developing behaviors appropriate to particular classroom activities. In our own year-long ethnographic study of a Bay Area first grade class the teacher accomplished this socialization task by developing set 'formulating phrases' which she used repeatedly and pronounced with special emphasis both to announce activities or to sanction inappropriate behavior. Thus rug time was announced by "O.K., everybody come to the rug." Directions to stop working and get ready for recess or cleanup were prefaced by "O.K., everybody freeze." Sanctioning often takes indirect forms as in "you can wear a hat in class when I wear a hat" or I can't see all the sharks on the rug." What is special about these phrases is less their actual content than the way in which they are spoken and the contexts in which they are used. It is this manner of articulation which lends them their formulaic character and gives them their special significance for the class.

The daily organization becomes so much a part of the children's understanding of classroom activities that they are acutely aware of any change or absence of particular contextualization conventions regularly used by the teacher. An anecdote will illustrate this point. Seven weeks after school had started, the class had a substitute teacher. The substitute made every effort to follow the general framework of activities laid out in the teacher's lesson plan, but she did not conduct lessons or move from activity to activity in the same manner as the regular teacher. She did not know and use the same formulating phrases as the regular teacher to introduce and close activities. Several children were visibly disoriented. One child said, "we didn't do sharing yet," though in fact it had already occurred. It had occurred out of its normal sequence. One child even asked "have we had lunch yet?" "Is this morning or afternoon?" as the class was going to lunch. He wanted to know whether it was time to put his chair up on his desk, which occurs only at the end of the day.

The Language Evaluation Demands of School

One major fact of life in school is that children's performance is subject to continual evaluation. Evaluation is presumably necessary because schools are obliged to determine how much children are learning. The necessity for evaluation requires not only formal testing but it also affects the nature of classroom conversational interaction. Both the formal testing and the classroom conversational interaction require children to use language differently than they would outside of school.

Much of classroom interaction has a structure that differs from ordinary conversations. This is in part due to the teacher's obligation to evaluate children's performance. This is accomplished in large part through the use of known answer questions which differ from the usual question that is a request for information. This distinction can be seen in the following example from Mehan (1979):

Request for Information

I Speaker A: What time is it Denise?
Speaker B: 2:30
Speaker A: Thank you, Denise.

Known Answer Question

II Speaker A: What time is it Denise?
Speaker B: 2:30
Speaker A: Very good, Denise

The known answer question is characteristic of classroom conversation while the other is not. This difference which children must adapt to is motivated by the fact that evaluation is an important part of classroom activity. Another consequence of the fact that evaluation of performance is an important part of school is that both the form and the content of the language used in classroom interaction are important. Children must not only produce the logically correct answers to classroom questions but they must produce them in a form acceptable to the teacher and at an appropriate place in the interaction. Answers to teacher's questions that are produced out of turn are ignored and thus wrong even if their content is correct. Likewise answers that are not framed in the proper linguistic form are treated as being incorrect by the teacher, e.g. "Say it again in a full sentence." This emphasis on form as well as content may be due in part to the "literate bias" to our educational system (Olson, 1977). As Olson puts it:

> ... the major aspirations of the schools are concerned with literacy, and the means of instruction are predominantly literate. Schooling is a matter of mediating the relationship between children and printed text.

This literature bias pervades much of classroom instructional talk. Children must not only learn to read and write but they must learn to talk in a literate manner during classroom instructional activities. Talking in a literate manner requires that the form of their spoken language must conform to certain aspects of written language. Since written language tends to have more full sentences, more complex sentence structure, more endophoric reference and is more lexically explicit than spoken language, children's spoken language is seen as needing to contain these features. These are differences more of form than content. Since children come to school with primarily oral experiences in which the focus in most of their interactions with adults as well as peers is on content or meaning rather than form, they must begin to focus on form as well as content in their instructional interchange in order to conform to the teacher's literate expectations. Thus another language task facing children in school is that they must learn to plan their contribution to instructional interchanges with an awareness of form as well as the content.

Another way that evaluation takes place is in formal and informal testing situations. These situations tend to be highly decontextualized so that the usual clues that are used to determine intent are missing and thus children often as Mehan (1978) has shown misinterpret the intent of the test questions. They may produce the wrong answer because they have misinterpreted the question not because they don't possess the information that is being tested. The very nature of the testing situations which require children to produce knowledge out of the context of its use does not allow children to use the conversational repair strategies that they are accustomed to using when they don't understand something. This is particularly true of group testing where there is little interaction with the tester. However, in individual testing as Mehan has pointed out the child's score is a social accomplishment which is the joint product of the child's knowledge, as well as the interaction between the child and the tester. Here teacher's expectations about children's cognitive abilities and social and ethnic background can influence performance. Children must learn new language interaction skills in order to negotiate these situations.

The Language Demands of Literacy

One would think that children's encounters with written text in school would be problem free given the relative ease and the degree of linguistic sophistication all children show in becoming competent speakers of their native language. Unfortunately, the transition to reading is not as easy as one would expect from looking at language acquisition because being a competent speaker does not automatically provide children with the skills necessary to learn to read. The processing of written language requires some skills that are different from those required to process spoken language. These new skills are the result of the differences between written and spoken language and the importance of metalinguistic awareness in learning to read.

The differences between written and spoken language create problems for the child learning to read because children come to school having learned oral language and with a limited exposure to written channels. Spoken language is used mainly in face to face situations, where prosodic and non-verbal signs, the total extralinguistic setting as well as the listener's gestures, acknowledgements or back channel response which punctuate the speaker's stream of talk are an important input to interpretation. In written language, writer and audience are separated in space and time and the communication is unimodal, and relatively independent of the situation in which it is produced or read. Thus the child in learning to read written text must adopt a much more decontextualized perspective than that required in his/her oral communications. He or she must depend upon the purely linguistic aspects of the communication and less upon the situation in order to interpret its meaning. And within the linguistic system only certain aspects of it must become the focus of attention. More specifically the lexical and syntactic-semantic signal system must be the focus rather than the prosodic signalling system which exists only minimally as punctuation in written text. In spoken language the meaning is signalled redundantly with non-verbal, situations, prosodic as well as lexical syntactic semantic cues so that one system can be emphasized over others and in fact children tend to foreground the prosodic as well as lexical syntactic semantic cues so that one system can be emphasized over others and in fact children tend to foreground the prosodic and non-verbal channels and background the lexical and syntactic-semantic. Gumperz and Herasimchuck (1972) and Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1976) have shown that children rely more on heavily intonational signalling than do adults.

Intonation is important to oral language in that it provides cues in addition to syntactic and semantic ones in the parsing of sentences and in distinguishing between given and new information both of which are important in language comprehension (Haviland and Clark, (1971); Chafe, (1976). In written language, prosodic cues are of course not available so the reader must depend only on syntactic and semantic devices for parsing and distinguishing given from new information. Thus the child in reading text must shift from a dependence on intonation with syntactic and semantic cues in the background to the use of syntactic-semantic cues only. Evidence that this presents a problem for children comes from a study by Kleiman, Winograd and Humphrey (1979). They showed that in a task requiring fourth grade children to parse written text into meaningful units with and without prosodic information, children were better at parsing sentences when they had prosodic information than when they did not have it. They also found that poor readers were better at parsing when they had prosodic information than when they did not. Good readers on the other hand did equally well with and without prosodic information. The differences they found were small, but this may have been due to the grade levels of the readers. By fourth grade one would expect readers to have adopted strategies that did not depend upon prosody. One would expect stronger effects in the lower grades. However the findings suggest that poorer readers are more dependent upon prosody than better readers, presumably because they are dependent upon oral language strategies. Other evidence supporting the argument, albeit in an indirect way, is the finding by Clay and Imlach (1971) that poor first grade readers use a word by word intonational pattern while reading aloud while good readers produce the expected intonation. This finding suggests that the poor first grade readers were not able to shift from a focus on intonation to a focus on syntactic and semantic cues while the good readers could, given the assumption that the production of proper intonation when reading aloud indicates the use of syntactic and semantic cues. While the evidence from these two studies supports the claim about the shift of strategies required by written text, the issue is far from settled and will require much more research. There are other differences between written and spoken language that have been hypothesized to require children to use different language skills than are used in spoken language when encountering written language. These differences which include different uses of deixis, different repair strategies when miscommunication occurs, different content, degree of

redundancy, different lexical items and syntactic structures, etc. (Rubin, 1977; Schallert, Kleiman and Rubin, 1977). All of these provide other ways that reading text requires new language skills. The theoretical explanation of the new demands these differences make and the empirical validation of them remains to be worked out. It appears that this area could provide fertile ground for both basic and applied research that could have a practical significance.

Another demand that reading makes on children's language use is that they be conscious or aware of their primary linguistic activities -- listening and speaking. This awareness has been called metalinguistic awareness (Mattingly, 1972). Metalinguistic awareness is the ability to focus on the language itself as an object rather than on the meaning or the intention of communication. Metalinguistic awareness allows language users to focus attention on the phonological, lexical, and syntactic as well as on the semantic and pragmatic level of language. It allows them to notice anomalies at different linguistic levels and to comment on them. It allows them to segment spoken sentences into words, and words into phonemes (see Ehri, 1978 for a review of these studies). In their informal conversations speakers and listeners focus on the meaning and the intention of the conversationalists rather than on the language itself. They are conscious of the content rather than the form of the communication. The phonological and syntactic rules and units used are out of their focal awareness.

While all normal children develop into linguistically competent users of spoken language, there are great individual differences in metalinguistic skills, and these individual differences differ depending upon the linguistic level. As Rozin and Gleitman (1977) put it:

> The lower the level of the language feature that must be attended to and accessed for any language like activity beyond comprehension, the more individual differences we find in adults; further the lower the level of language feature, the later its accessibility to the language learning child. Semantics is easier to access than syntax, and syntax easier than phonology. With phonology, again, global syllables are easier to access than phonemes and phonetic features. (p. 90)

It is further believed by Rozin and Gleitman and other researchers that metalinguistic awareness is intimately involved in and possibly a necessary prerequisite for learning to read. This belief is based on 1) the fact of individual differences in metalinguistic awareness and with the relative lack

of them for speaking and listening, 2) the fact that learning to read is so difficult while learning to talk is apparently effortless, 3) the findings of positive correlations between such metalinguistic skills as the ability to segment words into phonemes and sentences into words with reading achievement (Calfee, Lindamood and Lindamood) (1973) 4) the fact that phonological segmentation skill which has strong relationships with reading achievement appears to be closely related to understanding the alphabetic nature of English orthography and learning sound -- spelling correspondences. Both of these skills are believed to be important in learning to read. To put it another way learning to decode is important to learn to read. There are large individual differences in phonological awareness (metalinguistic awareness at the phonological level) which appears to be a prerequisite to learning to decode and these differences show high correlations with learning to read. Therefore phonological awareness is an important skill in learning to read. This argument has some problems. First, the importance of learning to decode as a necessary part of learning to read has been questioned by Smith (1971), Goodman (1973). The empirical evidence is mainly correlational; thus it is consistent with several other versions of the relationship, one of which is that metalinguistic awareness develops as a consequence of learning to read. However Ehri (1979) has reviewed the evidence and has argued that it facilitates learning to read. Finally, we do not have a good theoretical explanation of the relationship between metalinguistic awareness and reading. However, whether or not metalinguistic awareness is a cause or a consequence of learning to read it is an important language skill that is associated with learning to read and is not very well developed before reading is encountered. The acquisition of metalinguistic skills in school requires children to use language in a different manner than in their normal communication. Instead of focusing on the content or meaning of language they must focus on its form particularly at the phonological level in order to acquire decoding skills. And since most beginning reading programs focus on decoding to some degree almost all children need to develop phonological awareness. There are of course great individual, social class and ethnic differences in the possession of these skills among children entering school. These differences may in part be due to exposure to literacy and literate-like activities. Thus some children have previous experiences that make meeting these new demands easier.

The Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher in the acquisition of these new language use skills is crucial. The teacher is the mediator through which students participate in most school activities. It is the teacher who sets the implicit as well as the explicit goals of the classroom and sets the rules for classroom language use and behavior; controls the language interaction during classroom lessons and is responsible for the evaluation of children's performance. Because of the central role that the teacher plays in classrooms it is his or her behavior that determines along with the child's background and language skill the degree to which these new language uses can be learned. The teacher determines in large measure whether the transition to new language uses will be easy or difficult. The teacher's behavior toward children and her evaluation of their performance is not only dependent upon their actual performance but upon his or her expectations and cultural presuppositions about their abilities to perform school tasks. Teacher's attitudes and expectations play an important role in the way they treat children. Thus children's language use in school and its influence on school achievement is a product of their own abilities, their interactions with teachers and texts, and the teacher's expectations and evaluation of their competence.

The Achievement Problems of Minority Students

The new language demands that school makes upon children may account to a large degree for individual differences in school achievement. However, since all children face these problems upon entering school, why is it that minority children as a group do more poorly in school? If these new language use demands influence school performance, what accounts for the problems of minority children over and above those faced by all children? We believe that the language demands outlined above in combination with other factors can explain at least part of the problems of minority students. We believe it is the combination of culturally specific communication strategies that minority children bring to school and teacher expectations and interpretations of their behavior that gets translated into differential treatment which, in turn, leads to lowered achievement.

Minority children often come to school with culturally specific language use skills which are different from but are in no way inferior to white

middle class language use. Thus Black children produce phonological and grammatical features of Black dialect while white children do not for the most part produce these features. So far the relevant dialect features have been studied mostly at the level of phonology and grammar. Our own work in conversational analysis suggests that phonological and grammatical differences which by themselves do not hinder intelligibility nevertheless reflect differences in discourse conventions which although they often remain unnoticed are discovered only through systematic analysis, nevertheless affect teacher expectation and hence the instructional process.

The teacher who plays a central role in children's classroom experiences has definite expectations about minority children's language use and their behavior in general. These expectations are formed by ethnic and class stereotypes (Rist, 1970) and the literate bias to the school's notions of language use, previous experiences with minority children, and test scores. These expectations predispose teachers to interpret minority children, and test scores. These expectations predispose teachers to interpret minority children's language differences as deficiencies. Thus dialect phonology and grammar are often seen as signs of verbal deficiency. The literate bias of their language use expectations and the language use characteristics of minority children can attract teacher's attention and exacerbates their predisposition to focus on form at the expense of content. As a result the teacher may spend more time focusing on form rather than content with minority children than they do with middle class children. This is part of a more general phenomenon in which the language and behavioral differences of minority students interact with teacher expectations to produce differential treatment of lower class minority students (Rist, 1970; McDermott, (1978). The differential treatment of minority students takes the form of differential positive and negative reinforcement, a focus on form at the expense of content which results in miscommunication, less time spent on actual learning and more time spent on keeping order and warding off distractions (McDermott, 1978). Over time the differential treatment results in less exposure to learning. It may lead to lowered motivation which shows up in poor performance in the classroom as well as on standardized tests. The lowered school and test performance becomes a self fulfilling prophecy which then provides teachers with an "objective" basis upon which to base their lowered expectations. These expectations then lead into another cycle of differential treatment etc.

Once this cycle begins it is very difficult to break out of because the lowered expectations of the teacher are so quickly reinforced by lowered performance.

Classroom Examples

In the last section of this paper we would like to discuss some of these issues in the context of examples from actual classroom episodes.

The data cues from two sources, Piestrup (1971) and from our own ongoing study (Gumperz and Simons, 1978). The Piestrup data comes from 12 first grade teachers teaching all Black students. The Gumperz and Simons data comes from one ethnically mixed first grade classroom.

Black Dialect

The first issue is that of dialect. Black dialect has been the subject of much research and discussion over the last decade or so. Much of it has been concerned with the question of its interference with learning to read. For a while it was believed that the major problem for reading was that it interfered directly when children read standard English text. It is now pretty clear that this method of interference is not a big problem. It has been pointed out by Simons (1979) and others that the empirical evidence is almost wholly negative. It has also been argued that the phonological and grammatical nature of the differences between Black dialect and standard English are not likely to interfere with comprehending text (Simons, 1979). It appears that if dialect per se interferes at all it interferes during reading lessons in interchanges between teachers and children rather than while children are reading texts (Simons 1979).

The problems due to dialect revolve around problems of focus of attention in which the children are focusing on the content of the task while the teachers are focusing on the form of the child's response to it. The production of dialect features which are socially marked as "bad" speech intensifies teachers' tendencies to focus on form and at the expense of content. These problems can be seen in episodes A and B.

Episode A

Line 1. Teacher (T) this one, (C). This way, (C_1). Come one right here. Hurry up.

2. C_1 /dey/

3. T Get your finger out of your mouth.

4. C_1 call

5. T Start again.

6. C_1 /dey/call, What is it? What is it?

7. T What's this word? (pointing out the word "They")

8. C_2 /dey/

9. C_1 /dat/

10. T <u>What</u> is it? (contrastive stress on What)

11. C_3 /dæ t/

12. C_2 /dey/

13. C_1 /dey/

14. T Look at my tongue. <u>They</u> (stress on th)

15. C_1 They

16. T They. Look at my tongue (between her teeth)

17. C_1 /th ey/(between /ðey/ and /dey/ but closer to /dey/)

18. T That's right. Say it again.

19. C_1 /they/ (between /ðey/ and /dey/ but closer to /dey/)

20. T They. O.K. Pretty good. O.K. ...C_1

In episode A, the child's original response in line 2 and 4 is appropriate in terms of content and indicates that he can decode the word. The teacher however focuses on form. It seems that standard English pronunciation is expected even though it is not particularly relevant to the task at hand. Intent on correcting the form the teacher goes on to use a series of indirect repair strategies, lines 3,5,7,10 that are only partially successful in getting the proper form to the response. She only begins to be explicit about the fact that it is the pronunciation, i.e., the form of the response that is incorrect, in lines 14 and 16. In the process of the interaction the children indicate that they do not know what is wrong. In fact one child C_3 in line 11 actually produces a response that is even more incorrect than the first response. It is wrong both in form and content in that it doesn't fit into the meaning of the sentence. It is not clear in this case, whether the children understand what the correct response should be since this is a distinction that may not be part of their dialect. The focus of this episode shifts from content to form. It shifts from a reading lesson to a lesson in standard English pronunciation. The children are unable to follow the shift. This discrepancy plus the indirect correction strategies prolong the episode and distract from time on the reading task which is what the children need most. Thus an excessive amount of time may be spent of the form of the children's responses at the expense of their content.

This constant focus on form sometimes causes the children to focus on form at inappropriate times. In episode B the teacher is focusing on the distinction between singular and plural by appealing to its semantic basis. The production of a dialect feature in line 4 which is partly a response that indicates an understanding of the original distinction leads the teacher to believe that the child does not understand the distinction. She then focuses on the offending lexical item still appealing to a semantic distinction. The children, because of her previous attention to dialect features and her emphasis on producing final consonants as a response to the dialect feature of consonant cluster simplification, ignore the original syntactic and semantic issue and focus on phonology and produce the word with an exaggerated final consonant plus a vowel in lines 6 and 7. This episode graphically demonstrates the way the production of dialect features can

distract attention away from meaningful learning to the production of responses that are irrelevant to the task at hand.

Episode B

1. T: This is a , this is a hard one. What was this one everybody.
2. C: /meyn/
3. T: man, this a hard one. We say man when we mean more than one man. This is when we're talking about more than one .. Read the sentence Nathan.
4. C_1: There was a lot of men.
5. T: Do we use "was" when there's a whole bunch. What other word can we use instead of was.
6. C_2: /wʌzɴ/
7. C_3: /wʌzɴ/
8. T: No
9. C_1: is
10. C_2: There "are"
11. T: There "are" or there "were"
12. C: Were
13. T: Can we say there were a lot of men at the ballgame. You could say it both ways. But let's say "were."
14. T: Say it for me with "were." Nathan say it for me with "were."
15. C_1: There were a lot of men at the ballgame.

The problems in these episodes and others like them arise because the teacher focuses on having the children produce standard English in its phonological as well as its grammatical features. The children have a different focus which is sometimes on the content and sometimes on the form. The result is a distraction from the learning and a loss of time on reading tasks. It is in this indirect way that dialect interferes with learning to read. However, the problems are not limited to the level of specific phonological and grammatical dialect features. They arise at the level of discourse as well. Here the ethnic differences are not those of phonological and grammatical dialect features but of discourse strategies.

Ethnic Differences in Discourse Strategies: Sharing Time

The preceding examples reflect misreadings or misunderstandings of communicative intent which detract from time devoted to content. More systematic studies of key situations such as "sharing time" and "reading lessons" show that differences in discourse conventions can also affect both the teacher's teaching strategies and the child's opportunity to learn. "Sharing time" or "show and tell" as it is called in some classrooms is a recurrent classroom activity where children are called upon to give a formal description of an object or a narrative account of some event. It is in this activity that we can see the interaction of teacher expectations about ethnic differences and literacy, and ethnically based discourse strategies produce differential treatment. Sharing can be viewed as an activity which attempts to bridge the gap between the child's home based oral discourse and the acquisition of the literate discourse features that appear to be necessary for written communication.

A main goal is to train children to describe events or objects in front of a group that does not share the child's own background knowledge communicatively. This means that:

"1. Objects are to be read and described even when in plain sight.
2. Talk is to be explicitly grounded temporally and physically.
3. Discourse is to be tightly structured so as to highlight one particular topic (which then makes it sound important)
4. Thematic ties need to be lexicalized if topic shifts are to be seen as motivated and relevant." (Michaels and Cook-Gumperz, 1978).

Our examination of a number of sharing episodes shows that white and

black children's sharing performances clearly fall into two distinct groups. White children's stories deal either with an event or an object. The description centers about a single topic in such a way that a middle class adult can easily recognize a unitary narrative thread. An example of this can be seen in episode C.

Episode C

Child: Well today, uh I, my mom- I'm gonna get by bunk beds and then we have to paint em and yesterday I got my dresser that we're gonna stain.
Teacher: Oh boy, you have a lot of work to do, don't you? And you're gonna help your mom and dad do it.
Child: Uh huh!
Teacher: Oh great. Which bed are you going to sleep in upstairs or downstairs.
Child: Top.

The white child's topic centered discourse conforms more loosely to the teacher's notion of proper sharing. Her comment indicates that she has understood the child's communicative intent and she succeeds in inducing the child to respond appropriately and building on his discourse.

Out data shows that Black children on the other hand tend to tell stories which focus on interpersonal relations. But in order to set the background for their tale they refer to a variety of objects or facts using a style such that the middle class adult is often unable to locate the main theme. This style Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1978) have called topic chaining. An example can be seen in episode D.

Episode D

1	Sherry:	Yesterday ... I went ... yesterday ...
2		... yesterday when I came home from school
3		my grandmother was over there ... and my
4		auntie ... and ... my grandmother ... we
5		goin' to stay down at ... her house when
6		my mother have her baby.
7	Student Teacher:	Oh.
8	Sherry:	And um my other cousin ... and my um ...
9		uncle he gon' to pick up his ... son ...
10		and we goin' trick 'r treatin'.
11	Student Teacher:	Oh that sounds like fun. O.K., thank you.
12	Celena:	Uh, we gon' go trick 'r treatin' too.
13	Student Teacher:	O.K. Peter.

In this episode the teacher's 'oh' in line 7 and concluding comment suggest she has considerable difficulty in discerning what the child is getting at. The child's account begins with a number of seemingly distinct statements which show little relation to and do not build up to what seems to be the main theme, i.e., going trick or treating.

Because of the discrepancy between the children's narrative style and the teacher's literate narrative schema and perhaps also because of the teacher's expectations about Black children's language, the interaction that takes place during these sharing episodes is less than satisfactory. Typically the interaction with Black children is asynchronous and full of mistimed interruptions that often stop the child at midclause. Because the teacher's inability to understand this communicative style, her attempts to shape it to meet to her expectations (tell me about something is that it is very important) are unsuccessful and the child's sharing narrative which the teacher sometimes

refers to as "filibusters" are often cut short before the child can finish his or her account and the opportunity for learning during sharing is diminished.

Sharing provides a good example of the interaction of teachers' ethnic stereotypes, literate notions and differences in children's discourse styles which produces differential treatment and reduced opportunity for learning for the minority children.

Differential Treatment: High and Low Reading Groups

Another area where teacher expectations influence performance is in the differential treatment provided for the high and low reading groups. In our study we found that for the high reading group the teacher treats reading as a meaningful activity where meaning and making sense out of print is stressed. For the low reading group it is a nonmeaningful activity where the mechanics are stressed.

The research of Canney and Winograd (1978) and others has shown that good readers view reading as an activity that has its focus on comprehension and meaning and that poor readers view it as a process that focuses on the mechanics of letters, sounds, words, etc. He also found as have others that poor readers are less sensitive to syntactic and semantic information. The question is where do they get these different viewpoints? The most obvious answer is that they get it as a result of differential treatment during reading instruction. The high and low reading groups view reading in these different ways because that is the way it is presented during reading instruction.

In our first grade classroom we have found that the high and the low reading groups receive the kind of differential treatment that would lead to different views of the reading process. In our class the high group was all white middle class with one Black child while the low group was all Black lower class children.

In the high group the attention during oral reading is to meaning and the notion that the word should make sense, i.e., fit into the sentence context. The following episodes demonstrate this point.

Episode E

1 C: ride

2 T: ride. And what, what's he gonna put after that. Which word? Is he gonna ri - use Bob or ride? What would make sense?

3 Cs: why, ride, why, ride (etc.)
4 T: Can you ride Bob? Say it. Can you ride, Bob? Does that make sense? So you gonna ( ) ride Bob, right here, Right? You wouldn't write ( ) you wouldn't say "Can you ride why?" That doesn't make sense, does it?
5 T: Blank says I can ...
6 Cs: ride
7 T: Right. I want you to say it with me "Blank says I can ride" which one, uh, these are you ..
8 Cs: Bob
9 T: Right. Now read it the right way. Say it.
10 Cs: Bob says 'I can ride'
11 T: Does that make sense? Bob says 'I can ride' Always read it n' say to yourself 'Does that make sense?' 'Does that sound right?'

When letter identification tasks are introduced their onerous nature is acknowledged. It is also clear that the teacher fully expects the children to be able to do the task with ease and tells them so. Here we see teacher expectations at work.

Episode F

T: We're talking about sounds. And I know this is very easy for you, but sometimes we just need to remember them again, Okay?
The low group lessons on the other hand focus on decoding where "sound it out" replaces "does it make sense,"

Episode G

1 W: The chair runs to the car
2 T: good, Warren
3 W: the owl
4 T: owll, I want to hear the l . . .
5 C: . . .
6 T: does it sound like L? . . .
7 T: I want you to listen now, we're talking about sounds, say one for me; nine
8 C: nine
9 T: good
10 T: Right, lid, now spell it out for me . . .

11 T: j-o-b, will you sound it out for me . . .
12 W: come ( )
13 T: a-t is ( ) sound 'em, a is ( ) a-t is ( )
14 W: at

We have also found that in the low group the teacher interruptions came at places, usually within a phrase, that disrupt the production of proper intonation patterns thus producing word by word reading. In the high group the interruptions tend to come at phrase boundaries so that reading is in more meaningful units.

Our findings are supported by Allington's research (1979) on a larger sample of teachers and students. He found that when a number of errors are controlled poor readers are corrected more than twice as often as good readers. He also found that teacher corrections focused on syntax and semantics for the good readers and in decoding for the poorer readers.

Thus we see that there is substantial differential treatment between good and poor readers which often means between white middle class good readers and black lower class poor readers. Once a child is placed in a low reading group there is often little chance of moving out of it especially if he or she is lower class Rist (1970). Lower class minority children have a greater chance of being placed in the low reading groups because of teacher expectations and the other reasons discussed here.

We are not claiming that focusing on decoding and not meaning is responsible for the differential reading achievement of high and low groups. One important aspect of learning to read involves learning sound-letter correspondences which appears to require phonological awareness skills. Thus decoding must be taught. The question is how? Our data and that of Piestrup suggest that placing decoding skills in a meaningful context and with the teacher expecting that children will learn these skills easily appears to produce better reading than nonmeaningful decoding. However we are at a very preliminary stage of our work and these are only tentative hypotheses. The issues are much more complicated than this simple dichotomy.

Conclusion

The achievemnt problems of minority children are complex and not easily understood in enough detail to suggest solutions. However we believe and have

tried to show in this paper that an understanding of the language demands of school, the home based communication strategies of minority children, teacher expectations and attitudes, and the way all these are realized in classroom learning situations will help us to understand the problems more fully. This knowledge base will then provide a foundation for improving the training of teachers and improving classroom instruction. We further believe that detailed ethnographic and conversational analyses of actual classroom language use is the most useful way to acquire this knowledge.

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A Study of Sharing Time With First Grade Students: Discourse Narratives in the Classroom

"Sometimes the world doesn't need
to know about everything, right?"
— 1st grade teacher at sharing time —

Sarah Michaels and Jenny Cook-Gumperz
University of California, Berkeley

For children, entry into the adult conversational world . . requires a lengthy apprenticeship which is developed partially through the ways in which adults interpret and respond to messages from children (Ryan, 1974) and partially by direct teaching of narrative accounting skills. Such skills begin to be taught formally when the child enters school in speech events such as "show and tell" sessions, where an object is used as a focus for a single child to present an account to the whole class.

The child's problem in these sessions (and subsequent similar occasions) is firstly to select from the multiplicity of things to tell about, as the quotation above suggests. Secondly, the child must present information in a form which is interpretable to others who do not share the child's background knowledge and assumptions and so develop a sense of how to present this selected information to an audience. It is these two problems of selection and discourse form which we will explore in this paper, as they occur in sessions of show and tell, which is called "sharing", in a particular first grade classroom.

Models of narratives

The literature on narratives does not usually treat narratives as a part of everyday conversational exchange but as speech events somewhat separate from other kinds of talk. The exception is the model developed recently by Becker & Polanyi which simplifies and builds upon the Labov-Waletsky model of narrative structures. Labov suggests that there are six structural components to a story: 1) abstract, 2) orientation, 3) complicating action, 4) evaluation, 5) resolution, and 6) coda. These syntactically and semantically organized elements represent the necessary temporal sequence of any story. The elements must occur in their designated order with the exception of evaluative devices which can occur in any of the segments. Most other models of narratives similarly take the form of a structured organization of elements which account for temporal sequencing but vary in the degree and extent to which the structures compose necessary and definable parts of the narrative. We can, in fact, distinguish between those approaches that emphasize hierarchical structure and those that focus on the linear flow of elements.

Story grammars make use of the structural elements of a story but see these as specifically hierarchically arranged, where the elements are part of a necessary entailment of levels and story

parts. Chafe (1979), on the other hand, suggests that stories are more linearly organized, focusing not on elemental organization but on the real-time production of stories where an element grows out of another and gets related to the story line in different ways in retelling. This flow model approach allows for fuzziness in the presence or absence of any one structural element and in the boundaries between them.

Oral tradition versus literate tradition differences

Both these approaches can be seen as having something of a literate bias, in that they assume that narratives whether orally presented or written will follow the same rules of form. Moreover it is assumed that oral narratives can be analyzed from a written transcript showing at best only hesitation phenomena and the rudiments of intonation afforded by punctuation. Folklorists, however, who have worked more specifically with the oral presentation of narratives, albeit usually within a ritual storytelling context, have found that oral narratives are built around formulas of content, syntactic form and meter which allow for the rapid production of sequences necessary in oral composition (Lord, 1960). This work has shown the difficulty of translating into writing an oral performance, which depends upon the paralinguistic presentation (stress, intonation, and pitch) to carry essential information (MacClendon, 1977). These findings have influenced our study of the materials from the children's sharing time.

Sharing — some ethnographic background

Sharing takes place every morning in this particular first grade classroom, within the context of a larger episode which we refer to as "rugtime", a time when the children assemble on the rug for various teacher-structured activities such as taking roll, doing the calendar, etc. During this time the children are expected to sit quietly on the rug, engaged in what Cook-Gumperz (1978) has called "attentive listening."

Sharing is a clearly bounded speech event, opened formulaically by the teacher (or student teacher), saying "OK, who has something important (interesting, exciting, special, etc.) to share?" or simply offering the floor to the person whom the teacher has designated the "special person" (a different child each day).

To get a turn, children raise their hands and wait to be nominated by the teacher, but while another child is sharing, anyone can call out short, topically relevant comments from the rug.

In anticipation of sharing, some of the children bring in objects from home to talk about, ranging from books or toys to a new article of clothing worn by the child. But the children are not required to bring in things to share (as is the case in some classrooms with organized sessions of "show and tell"), and many children simply share about a recent experience.

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The only explicit rules for sharing are: 1) no sharing about TV or movies because it takes too long, and 2) no sharing about private family matters, such as quarrels, etc. Very early on, children were urged to tell about events that had already taken place.

When a child is called on, he or she goes to the front of the rug and stands next to the teacher who is seated on a chair. The teacher, whom we will call Mrs. Jones, is actively involved in each turn, holding her arm around each child as he or she talks, holding the floor for the child (e.g., "Excuse me, it's Merle's turn.") and freely interjecting questions or reactions to the child or group at large.

Sharing as a unique speech event

That the children see sharing-time as a completely unique speech event is evidenced by their use of a highly marked intonation contour. This "sharing intonation" is an integral feature of sharing discourse and occurs in no other classroom speech activity (other than role-playing sharing as a part of "playing school"). In this particular classroom, which is half white and half Black children, we have identified two contrasting, but very comparable intonation patterns, both clearly identifying the talk as sharing-talk. The contour used primarily by the white children is a gradually rising contour, stretching over the last word or two of a tone group. The accompanying utterance is often a syntactically complete, independent clause where an adult speaker would often use falling intonation. This particular curve seems to indicate "more to come" and is almost always followed by a significant pause. This perhaps serves to ward off comments from peers or teacher, allowing the child some extra time for planning. For example,

Ahab: I got this Chinese Checker's game ...
for my birthday ... and .....

The second intonation contour is used exclusively by the Black children and very pronouncedly by some of the Black girls. It occurs in exactly the same environments (independent clauses), and can be characterized as a lilting high rise-mid fall contour, also generally followed by a pause. The contours are used primarily at the beginning of a turn (as the child introduces the topic), where perhaps more planning is required, or the talk most ritualized as sharing talk. For some children, especially for those who use the second contour, this sharing prosody involves rather sharp pitch modulations, giving the talk an almost sing-song quality. For example,

Sherry: October my mother gonna have her baby, ...
and I want it to be a girl ...

There is also evidence of the use of a lexical formula. In telling about past events, children very commonly begin by saying:

Yesterday ... or Yesterday ...

depending on which intonation contour they generally use. That this is formulaic (rather than simply a function of the fact that children want to talk about the immediate past) can be seen in the cases where children correct a false start. For example,

Bob: Yesterday ... I mean ... I mean .. when I went to Arkansas [which happened a year earlier].

Deena: Yesterday ... I mean it was last night ...

It turns out that using such a formula serves several discourse purposes. First, it serves to ground the talk temporally, the importance of which is repeatedly emphasized in Mrs. Jones' comments. Secondly, it establishes a frame that helps the child in structuring, and the listeners in interpreting, the discourse as event or person-oriented "accounting".

Sharing -- narratives or not?

There is no clear cut answer to the question of whether sharing is a narrative because sharing discourse evidences certain features that have been considered basic to narrative discourse while systematically lacking others. In the cases where the child does event-oriented accounting (as opposed to object-focused, "show and tell" type discourse), the order of reported events generally conforms to the order (presumably) in which the events occurred. Inasmuch as this is a necessary and overriding characteristic of narrative discourse, we feel inclined to treat this talk as a particular variant of narrative discourse. For example,

1 Martin: Yesterday/
2 ... 'Burt/ .. and 'I was at 'Burt's house/
3 and um/.. this dog was 'running across the street/
4 ... and uh/
5 T: What did?
6 Burt: This dog
7 Martin: was 'running across the street/
8 and a car runned him over/
9 and/.. and he/and he fell/.. down
10 and he was screeching/

11 Martin: 'then he died/
12 [and 'then his mom /[put him on a board/
13 and 'then the 'bus came/
14 and he [and he got
15 Burt: [called, called for help//
16 Martin: called for help//
17 T: →I'm sorry. Life isn't all fun and pleasantry is it?
18 Martin: It was a 'lost dog//
19 T: That's a very [sad —
20 Burt: [It was a "lost dog//
21 Martin: So the guy who owned him/doesn't know/[he was dead//
22 T: [Really? Right,
23 that's very sad. That makes me feel very bad. But
24 life's like that. We can't pretend it isn't can we?
25 C's: No.
26 T: 'cause things like that do happen. Sorry.

Martin's discourse, produced collaboratively with Mrs. Jones and Burt, shows a great deal of rhythmic synchronization. The discourse can be analyzed as containing an orientation section (lines 1 and 2), complicating action (lines 3-11), a resolution (lines 12-16), and a coda (lines 18, 20, and 21), which also serve as Martin's evaluation of the discourse. Mrs. Jones provides her own evaluative comments (lines 17, 19, 22-24, and 26), which differ in form from Martin's. Martin's comment "It was a lost dog." (line 18) adds additional information about the dog, which ties lexically back to line 3, where Martin originally mentions "this dog". His comment, then, serves several purposes. It adds new and important information about the dog, brings the narrative to a close (also indicated by pronounced falling intonation), and evaluates the discourse implicitly, as if to say, "It's especially sad because it was a lost dog." Mrs. Jones does not overtly respond to this comment, perhaps because she interprets it merely as additional detail rather than as Martin's evaluation and point in telling the story. The comment is then repeated, more loudly and with emphasis by Burt, and then further elaborated on by Martin (line 21), who again evaluates by means of providing additional information. Mrs. Jones then makes explicit the "point" of Martin's story (lines 22-24). She accomplishes this by referring to the event as a whole, standing outside the actual account, whereas Martin's and Burt's evaluative comments are an integral part of the account, and hence remain indirect.

Labov has noted that a common trait of middle class narrators is that they often use explicit evaluation. That is, they interrupt their narrative midstream, turn to their listener and explicitly state their "point". Mrs. Jones, who uses this strategy in evaluating the children's talk, often fails to see the implicit evaluative force of the children's remarks and even, on occasion, misses their point entirely. In providing explicit evaluative comments (as with Martin) or prodding the children to produce their own (as will be seen later with Walter), she may be providing the children necessary training in making their talk more explicit and hence less dependent on context, shared assumptions, and background knowledge for correct interpretation.

While clearly a narrative-account in structure, this kind of discourse deviates systematically from narratives generated in a normal conversational setting, in the following ways:

1) The floor is held for the child by the teacher, as a rule of sharing etiquette. For example,

> Deena: Today, when I go home um ... and um ... and I see my baby sister ...
>
> Student Teacher: Excuse me. Walter, it's Deena's turn right now. Could you please listen.
>
> Deena: When I go home tod .. today and see my baby sister ...

Once a child has the floor, he or she is allowed to finish (in general), so that "boring the audience" is not an overriding concern of the speaker. It does happen on occasion that when a child is considered too long winded or unfocused, a child on the rug may comment on this (e.g., Walter: How many of them rocks is she going to show us?) or more commonly, Mrs. Jones intervenes and quickly brings the turn to an end.

2) The child is not expected to tie his or her topic to the previous discourse. The relevance constraint requires only that the discourse topic be "appropriate" to sharing, that is, some kind of personal account or description of an object. Thus the constraints on demonstrating relevance and topic tying are far looser than is normally the case in conversationally embedded narratives.

3) The child's talk does not have to stand by itself as a fully formed narrative. Rather, as our first example shows, sharing turns are highly collaborative. Mrs. Jones interjects questions, comments, and reactions, often providing slots for orienting or evaluating the discourse, if this information is not explicitly provided by the child spontaneously. For example,

1 Walter: I ˈwent to the --/b$\hat{e}$ach/

2 ...⌜and I found/⌝ˈthis little th$\hat{i}$ng /⌞in the w$\hat{a}$ter//

3 T: For goodness sake. What is it?

4 Walter: Huh?

5 Doral: [A block,
6 C's: [A block, a block
7 T: A block. W[hen did you go to the beach?
8 Carl: [I--
9 Walter: [I went to--
10 Carl: [I have tons of those blocks [--
11 Walter: [I went to--/the Santa Cruz beach//
12 T: You did? When? O-Over the weekend?
13 Walter: [Nods]
14 T: Oh wow. I bet it's nice down there. Wasn't it?
15 Walter: Yeah. (breathy)
16 T: Was the water cold?
17 Walter: Yeah.
18 T: It's always cold down there, thank you.

In this example, Walter holds up a weather-beaten wooden block and says he found it during a trip to the beach. Mrs. Jones then asks a series of questions that structure his presentation for him so that it contains the following pieces of information (and no more):

1. the name of the object found in the water,
2. the name of the beach,
3. when his visit took place,
4. that it was nice there, and
5. that the water was cold.

Walter here begins his account with an orientation that could easily lead into a narrative. The teacher's contributions, however, rather than helping him develop this narrative, serve to turn his performance into a restricted account that contains explicit orientation and evaluation but no complicating action whatsoever. In this respect, it is closer to object-focused, "show and tell" type discourse than to event-oriented or narrative accounting. Furthermore, the teacher's responses seem to throw Walter off balance so that the descriptive information which is part of this limited account ends up being supplied by the teacher. The child does not get the kind of practice that the previous child did.

The teacher's model -- a literate bias

Both these examples demonstrate that the child's discourse cannot be analyzed in isolation. The teacher plays a crucial role in structuring the child's discourse and providing an example of the kind and form of discourse that she considers appropriate. In analyzing Mrs. Jones' comments in response to the children, it becomes evident that she has an underlying model of what constitutes "good" sharing, and that this model has an implicit literate bias.

However, this teacher's model has little direct correspondence with traditional notions of narrative structure, but rather, takes the form of a simple statement and resolution centering on a single topic. Importance is attached, not to content *per se*, nor to the sequentially ordered structure of an account, but rather, as in simple descriptive *prose*, to clarity of topic statement and explication. What the teacher seems to be looking for is a *decontextualized* approach to any topic, whereby:

1) objects are to be named and described, even when in plain sight;
2) talk is to be explicitly grounded temporally and physically;
3) discourse is to be tightly structured so as to highlight one particular topic (which then makes it sound "important");
4) thematic ties need to be lexicalized if topic shifts are to be seen as motivated and relevant.

The teacher's notion of sharing is thus far removed from everyday accounts which depend upon their situated character for much of the detail. In the teacher's model this kind of detail must be fully lexicalized and explicated. The teacher's expectations thus seem to be shaped by adult notions of literate description. It is probable that such a literate bias puts many of the children at a disadvantage, particularly the Black children, who may be, relatively speaking, less familiar with "prose-like" oral style. Moreover, many of these children have a way of doing narrative accounts that does not include the strict temporal and causal chain ordering constraints of literate narrative.

Children's discourse style

We now turn to a more detailed analysis of the discourse style used by the children in doing sharing, in particular as it conforms to, or violates, the teacher's underlying model of what counts as appropriate and adequate sharing.

Just as there is an identifiable difference in sharing intonation used by the Black and white children, we have found corresponding differences in discourse style. The discourse of the white children tends to be tightly organized, centering on a single topic or series of closely related topics, a discourse style we have called "topic-centered". For example,

1	Jenny:	Yesterday/
2		my mom/
3		... and/ .. my whole family/
4		went with me/... um/... to a party/
5		and/... it was a Thanksgiving party/
6		...[where ... and ... we .. um ..
7	Student Teacher:	[mm
8	Jenny:	my mom/

9 Jenny: ... we had to/um .. get/..[dress up as Pilgrims/

10 ... and my mom made me this hat/[for a Pilgrim//

11 Student Teacher: Oh great.

12 T: Try it on model it for us. Let's see how

13 you'd look as a [Pilgrim.

14 Jenny: [I don't want to//

In contrast to a topic-centered style, the Black children are far more likely to use a "topic chaining" style; that is, loosely structured talk which moves fluidly from topic to topic. This style resembles that found by Scarborough in Black children's stories (personal communication). For example,

1 Sherry: Yesterday/

2 ... I went/... yesterday/

3 ... yesterday when I came home from school

4 my grandmother was over there/.. and my auntie/

5 ...[and/... my grandmother/

6 ... we goin'/to stay down/at ...[her house

7 when my mother have her baby//

8 Student Teacher: [Oh.

9 Sherry: [And um my other cousin/... and my/um/... uncle/

10 he gon' to pick up his/... son/

11 a .. and/[we goin' trick 'r treatin'//

12 Student Teacher: Oh that sounds like fun. [OK, thank you.

13 Celena: [Uh, we gon' go

14 trick 'r treatin' [too.

15 Student Teacher: [OK Peter.

In this example, we see shifts both in topic and temporal orientation in lines 1-7, moving from the past (who was at Sherry's house when she got home from school) to the future (associating her grandmother with the time in the near future when she would be staying at her grandmother's house). At the point of the topic change, there is a 1.5 second pause (after the word "auntie") and a high, level pitch on "and", features which for some children regularly accompany a topic shift. While there are no explicit

lexical or syntactic markers to indicate a topic shift or to relate the two topics, the repetition of "my grandmother" is intonationally marked, indicating the semantic association across topics. However, a literate adult, telling a similar story, might indicate the shift to the new but related topic lexically, by saying, "And speaking of my grandmother, ..." The further shift in perspective that occurs in line 9 (the shift in focus away from her grandmother to other relatives) is not marked overtly in any way. The juxtaposition of the two pieces of information (staying at her grandmother's and going trick or treating) and the use of the same tense indicator ("goin' to") forces one to infer that the two activities are related temporally. This relationship might be marked lexically by an adult as "And while we're at my grandmother's, my uncle is ..."

We now look at another sharing turn where trouble arises, due to the mismatch between the child's style and the teacher's implicit model. In this case, Deena moves fluidly from topic to topic without making explicit the thematic ties connecting (or separating) the various topics. Deena is known for producing this kind of loosely structured discourse and some of her longer turns have jokingly been referred to as "filibusters" by Mrs. Jones.

1 Deena: Um ... I ˈwent to the bēach/.. ⌜Sūnday/
2 ānd/ˈto MacDōnalds/
3 and ˌto the pârk/
4 ... and/.. I ˈgot this for my/.. bìrthday//
5 ... My ˈmother bought it fôr me/
6 .. and um/... Ì hād/.. um/.. tẁo ˈdollars ˈfor my ˈbirthday
7 and I ˈput it ˈin hére/
8 .. and I ˈwent to ˈwhere my frîe-nd/
9 .. ˌnamed Gî Gi/
10 ... ˈI went ˌover to my ˌgrandmother's ˈhouse with her/
11 ... and um/..... ˋshe was on my bāck/
12 and ˈI/.. and ˈwe was ˌwalkin' arˌound/
13 ... by my hˌouse/
14 .. and um/... ˈshe was hêa--vy/
15 She ⌈was in the ˈsixth or ˈseventh grade//
16 T: ⌊OK I'm going to stop you. I want you to talk
17 about things that are really really very important.
18 That's important to you but tell us things that are
19 sort of different. Can you do that? And tell us what

20 T: beach you went to over the weekend.

21 Deena: I went to um ... um .....

22 T: Alameda Beach?

23 Deena: Yeah.

24 T: That's [nice there huh?

25 Deena: [I went there two times

26 T: That's very nice. I like it there. Thank you Deena.

Deena here begins with explicit temporal and physical grounding, by telling without much specificity what she did on Sunday. She then shifts gears radically to object-focused discourse about a small purse she had brought from home, embedding it in person-oriented talk that shifts focus away from her birthday present to an activity related only temporally (if at all) to her birthday (playing with a girlfriend). She begins to tell about her activities with her friend but is stopped just before she gets to what on the basis of her prosody appears to be the "point" of her discourse, the fact that she was able to carry her friend, fully twice her age, around on her back (and Deena is a tiny six year-old). The lack of any lexicalized markers other than "and" between topics makes the discourse difficult to follow thematically for those who, like the teacher, expect the narrative to focus on a single topic. It gives the impression of having no beginning, middle, or end, and hence no point at all. Perhaps for this reason, Mrs. Jones (in line 16) interrupts Deena and explains what she considers to be appropriate topics for sharing: events that are "really, really very important ... and sort of different", that is, topics that would be of general interest.

In spite of Mrs. Jones' insistence on "importance", all the children have some degree of difficulty understanding what is meant by important. For example, early on in the year a child raised his hand to share and when Mrs. Jones asked, "Is this very, very important because we don't have much time this morning," the child replied, "I don't know if it is or not but I want to say it." It must be noted, however, that the white children have far less difficulty with this notion than the Black children.

The Black children in the class (especially some of the girls) tend to use a topic-chaining discourse strategy, stringing together with "and" a long series of loosely structured topics. The result is that they may seem to "ramble on" about a series of commonplace occurrences. However, if we take a closer look at many of these turns, we see that it is not the topics of discourse that are inherently trivial or uninteresting, but rather that the rhetorical style used makes it seem as if there is no topic whatsoever. Taken by themselves, each separate topic discussed by Deena above would have counted as highly appropriate: activities on a Sunday, a birthday present, and acrobatics with a friend.

The problem with Deena's presentation is more one of discourse form than of content. In asking the children to tell about "important things", the teacher is tacitly assuming that the children understand how to do the actual telling in a literate style--that is, telling about one thing only and in such a way that it sounds important. Simply reminding the children to talk about important events does not provide them with the criteria for either topic selection or discourse form centered around a single topic.

For the white children in this class, who already have more elements of the schema for topic-centered style, the teacher is better able to collaborate with them and so build on their narrative intentions. With the Black children, on the other hand, the teacher's questions lack rhythmic synchrony and therefore must often be seen by the children as interruptions. Most importantly, the teacher's comments do not build on what the child already knows and so provide the necessary guidance and synchronized collaboration that would lead to the acquisition of an expanded, lexicalized, topic-centered style.

It is important to note that, in this classroom, a child's general discourse style does not reflect or predict reading ability. Among the children in this class, Deena, who has consistent problems doing appropriate sharing, is one of the very best readers. Furthermore, while Deena's reading, math, and spelling skills have all shown marked improvement over the course of the school year, her sharing discourse style has remained unchanged. And so, while sharing can be seen as an oral preparation for literacy, this has, as yet, had no influence on her progress in reading. However, Deena's topic-chaining oral discourse style may, in time, greatly interfere with her ability to produce literate-sounding descriptive prose. Just what effect Deena's non-prose-like oral style will have on her participation in school activities such as sharing or creative writing, and correspondingly on the teacher's evaluation of her performance in class, remains to be seen from what she does in the second and third grade, where discourse style and ability to write cohesive prose assume increasing importance.

Footnote

[1]Prosodic and paralinguistic cues are transcribed using a simplified form of a system developed by John Gumperz and his collaborators, based on Trim's work. In this system, speech sequences are first divided into tone groups or intonational phrases. A phrase can be marked by a minor, non final boundary "/" or a major or final boundary "//". Within a tone group we indicate: 1) location of the nuclei: (i.e., the syllable or syllables marked by change in pitch) "\" low fall, "`" high fall, "," low rise, "´" high rise; 2) other accented syllables in the tone group, "'" high, "," low; 3) paralinguistic features

such as a) shift to high pitch register "⌜" or shift to low pitch register "⌞" (both applying to the entire tone group), b) pausing ".." indicating a break in timing and "..." indicating a measurable pause, c) speech rate: "acc." indicating accelerating tempo and "ret." indicating slowing down, d) loudness over an entire tone group is indicated by "p" (soft) or "f" (loud). Doubling of one of the above symbols indicates extra emphasis.

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with fluency, to the neglect of content, versus a notion of reading as a purposive, meaning-directed activity. But the differing emphases, which must be seen as a response to perceived differences in ability, must themselves be explained. Given the state of affairs reported in the literature and our knowledge from preliminary analyses of SHEP materials, our primary question was how young readers acquired, or failed to acquire, a hierarchical understanding (lexicon, syntax and semantics) of the text being read from, and further, how they signalled or failed to signal that understanding. This question in turn had to be related to previous studies of differential treatment and to our hypotheses about the influence of discourse cues on classroom interaction.

We had evidence of significant differences in terms of amount of time spent on various reading tasks and of differing correction strategies used for similar or identical 'errors.' Our hypothesis was that the distinct conceptions reported in the literature resulted from the differing emphases that we had seen in our materials and had reason to believe were widespread. We felt that we could discover empirical evidence for how the differing conceptions were formed by studying reading as a process of student-teacher exchanges. By analyzing systematic differences in student-teacher exchanges across the ability groups we would begin to see how collaboration between students and teacher served to rigidify 'conceptions' into text processing strategies. In the process of being formed these strategies influence the teacher's response and the kinds of instruction which the teacher is able to give. Thus a sort of feedback mechanism is established wherein initial perceptions of children's language abilities result in differing instructional emphases; the emphases contribute to differing conceptions of the task of reading; the conceptions influence, in part, prosodic reading aloud styles; and these, in their turn, determine teachers' on-line correction strategies.

3.3 In order to have material with which to examine the relationship of reading aloud styles and correction strategies, we selected passages in which the same teacher worked with high and low group readers as they read from texts of equal complexity. The texts were transcribed with a detailed prosodic notation.[5] This allowed us to study how different readers segmented the text into breath groups, into major and minor tone groups, and further,

how intonational prominence was established; - in short, how the text was divided into what M. Halliday has called 'information units ' (Halliday, 1967: 200-206). Because we sought to study the role of conversational inference in classroom interaction, we analyzed the placement of tone group boundaries and tonal contours for their predictive value. That is to say, we sought to establish the language units being demarcated by tone groupings and nuclei placement. We did this by taking into consideration both the phrase-level and sentence-level constituencies of the text being read from and the student-teacher exchanges which took place during a given reading turn.

4.0 By studying these transcripts we were able to infer certain things about how instructional interaction is linked to reading aloud styles. In particular, we found that members of the two groups intonationally segmented a text in different ways, and further, that these ways of prosodically organizing a text, which we have variously called prosodic text-processing strategies or reading aloud styles, appear to be related to oral narrative styles. The differing prosodic strategies provoke differing correction strategies: although low-group readers do make more errors, the extreme emphasis on isolated decoding cues in their lessons would seem in part the teachers response to the students' reading styles. It should be kept in mind that the groups are reading from equivalent texts, taken from the same basal reader; presumably they are at the same 'level' of reading ability, yet they receive very different instruction. The differing approaches to error correction in their turn create a context in which queries designed to elicit or reinforce comprehension differentially succeed.

4.0 To the casual adult observer, both groups read in a staccato or "word-by-word" fashion, that is to say, with slight hesitations after each word and even stress on most lexical items. However, the staccato quality is more noticeable with low-group readers. Members of this group read with long pauses between words and frequently place equivalent stress on all items in a passage. The process is comparable to reading single items from a list: to the listener it sounds as if each word is a breath group or tone group unto itself. High group members, on the other hand, are more likely to have some of the intonational characteristics of fluent, adult reading aloud. In particular, even when they read in a halting, word-

by-word fashion, they finish sentences with falling tone; frequently they begin sentences with a relatively high even tone. Both traits are typical of the fluent reading aloud of declarative sentences.

The differences between relatively staccato and relatively fluent reading styles can be seen in items 1A and 1B. The story being read from is entitled "A Visit to Grandmother's"[6] The actual sentence being read appears as follows in the text. '"What did you cook for Grandma?" asked mother.'

1 A Low Reading Group (staccato)
1 C: 'what/. . 'did/ . .'you/ cook/ . .'for . . gran'ma / /
2 C: . . . ⌊asked⌋ ⌈asked/mother⌉
3 T: ⌊asked⌋ ⌊right//

In 1A each item receives equivalent stress and there are lengthy pauses between items; effectively, each item is treated as a minor tone group, an isolated inofrmation unit: "WHAT/ . . . 'DID/ . . . 'YOU/ . . . COOK? . . . 'FOR GRANDMA//. The reader pauses and the teacher supplies the next word. The sentence is completed, but it is as if the final segment which attributes speakerhood ASKED MOTHER is a sentence separate from the preceding material. As regards our earlier stated concern with the 'predictive' value of tone grouping, we should note that this pattern of stress and hesitations makes it difficult to ascertain clause or sentence constituency in the oral reading signal; instead, each item sounds like an isolated element and there doesn't appear to be a large language unit (namely, the sentences); lastly, the relationship between quoted material and attributed speaker is not clearly

signalled. The teacher's correction cues attend to the isolated word - ASKED - and do not attempt to improve the word-by-word reading style.

When we look at episode 18 we see a more fluent style of reading aloud. The story being read from concerns a Man who lives in a house in the woods, one day. The passage read by the student is treated as an entire paragraph in the reading book: 'He saw the fishes and the birds. And he saw his green rock. The man was happy. "What a day!" he said.'

18 High Reading Group (fluent)

1 C: He 'saw the 'fishes and the birds //

2 And 'he saw his green rock //

3 the 'man was happ- //

4 "What a 'day" / he said //

5 T: very good// 'So he had a happy day /right//

In the first sentence there is a high even tone on SAW and a low fall on BIRDS. Similarly, in the second sentence there is a high even tone on HE and a low fall on ROCK. The effect on the listener of this use of contours and tone group boundaries is that sentences are easily identifed in the oral reading signal; it is easy to predict which elements go with which because one has a clear perception of larger language units (sentences) which encompass the word groupings. Additionally, the second line is said with a slightly lower pitch register than the first, which signals an inter-sentential connection between the two. The third line is prosodically odd, with a high even tone on the final word, and with elision of a final syllable ('Happ-' instead of 'happy'). But in the fourth line WHAT and DAY are strongly stressed, as is correct for an emphatic quote of this sort. Low, atonal stress on HE SAID clearly separates the quoted material from the attributed speaker. Despite errors in the third line, the reading is notable for its clear demarcation of sentence boundaries and quotes. Overall, the oral reading gives a sense of coherence because it is easy for the adult listener to identify constituents above the word level; it is as if an intonational template were provided with which to arrange phrases, sentences, quotes and speakers into some sort of meaningful whole. The teacher responds favorably, does not correct the slight mispronunciation on HAPPY, but instead follows with comprehension questions about the man's feelings, what he saw and so forth.

Episodes 1A and B are intended as typical instances of general reading styles which are characteristic of the low and high group readers. What we have contrasting the two groups are different strategies for handling a text. One strategy seems to treat individual words as independent elements, or at least places tone groups and contours in such a way as to make it difficult to ascertain clause and sentence constituencies. The other strategy places tone groups and contours in such a way as to make identification of constituency relatively easy; or at least uses falling contours utterance finally, thus making it easy to identify sentence boundaries. The different strategie would seem to indicate differing conceptions of the task of reading - the one perspective views reading merely as pronunciation, the other views it as meaningful. As we shall show below, teachers' correction strategies seem to tacitly assume the differing conceptions and to respond accordingly.

4.2 There are, however, suggestive similarities between elements of the two reading styles and what we have elsewhere called "community-based discourse styles." In a study of oral narratives conducted by this project (cf. Michaels and Collins, this report, for a description of 'Pear Narratives') it was found that the same children who are high group readers tend to place tonal nuclei near the end of a tone group boundary, while the children who are low group readers tend to place tonal nuclei in the middle of tone groups. The first group talks in such a way that sentence boundaries are easily discerned; they 'talk in sentences.' The latter group organizes talk into larger rhetorical units, which may or may not correspond to sentence boundaries; they use rhythm and pausing in a different way from their white middle class counterparts, and they tend to use high contours to signal special thematic connections within a narrative. Both ways of organizing talk are logically and communicatively effective. But they sound different. The high group oral habit of placing contours clause-finally sounds more literate and translates easily into the placing of low falling tones on final words when reading aloud. Conversely, the low group habit of placing contours mid-clause sounds less literate and translates less easily into the placing of falling tones on final words in sentences being read from. At this point, given the exploratory nature of the SHEP project and the novelty of these hypotheses, it is difficult to determine the degree to which the placement of falling contours clause-finally is a home and community-based discourse convention, a formulaic habit of oral

language, rather than the result of advanced text comprehension. Similarly, it is difficult to determine the degree to which the more fluid placement of nuclei in the middle of tone groups is a discourse convention, a community based habit, rather than an index of inferior text comprehension. More controlled study of oral narratives and passage readings is needed, comparing prosodic strategies in tasks of differential complexity. But we do have initial evidence that community-background and prosodic reading style are related. Now let us examine the consequences in the classroom.

4.3 When we look at the correction strategies which are predominantly used with one or the other reading group, it would appear that the teachers are socialized to the differing reading strategies. They respond to the different intonational segmenting of the text by handling what are equivalent errors in very different ways. However, the descriptions which follow of 'differential treatment' of reading errors should not be construed as a condemnation of individual teachers. The insight which we on the SHEP project have gained about the role of prosody in reading group instruction is the result of comparative analysis, contrasting activities, participants, classrooms and communities. When we study conversational interaction in multi-ethnic situations we are looking for the effects of unconscious habits of organizing talk (prosodically, lexically and syntactically) on the unfolding interaction; but an 'on-line' participant, either a teacher or student, can not be expected to employ the analyst's detached perspective. Instead, they are busy in the process of assessing and responding to another's contributions. All of which is to say that the differences described below should not be regarded as the result of overt decisions to consign one group of students to a year of decoding drill, but rather that the prosodic reading strategies described above influence the teachers' engaged perception of student performance, and hence the use of correction cues.

In episodes 2A and B we contrast the context provided for decoding cues. 2A is taken from a story entitled "A Day in the Park." In the story one character, Debbie, has called to her friend Ann, inviting her to come out and play. Ann replies with the sentence which is being read from. "I'll be out, wait for me."

2A: No Context Provided for Decoding Cue.

1 C: 'I'll be out . . .
2 T:] a-i says 'a / . . ˌwait // . . say it /way-
3 C: wait for me //
4 T: 'Go on //

As we see in the example, the student reads I'LL . . BE . . OUT and then pauses. The teacher prompts A-I SAYS A . . . WAIT . . . SAY IT, WAY-. The student finishes the sentence WAIT FOR ME. There is no further instructional interaction; the decoding cue is provided and received in isolation.

A very different situation obtains in episode 2B, taken from a high group reading lesson. The story being read from is entitled "John's Afternoon." It concerns a young man who has had a falling out with his mother and his friends; he has walked to the local park where he sees some other boys playing with a cardboard box; he suggests that they make a house out of it. The passage being read from is as follows.'"(I'll paint the house) and you can make the windows. Let's make big windows!"'

2B: Context Provided for Decoding Cue.

1 C: And 'you can make . . .
2 T: [the . . . what's 'w-'i-'n//
3 T: Put your finger over it/ everything but 'w-'i-'n//
4 Sound out 'w-'i-'n with a short i// wind- what //
5 F'Window]// 'I'll paint the 'house/and 'you can 'make
6 the 'windows//
7 C: 'Let's make 'big 'windows //

The student reads AND YOU CAN MAKE and pauses. The teacher provides a word and then begins spelling out the following word: WHAT'S W-I-N? PUT YOUR FINGER OVER IT, EVERYTHING BUT W-I-N. SOUND OUT W-I-N WITH A SHORT I. WIND WHAT? "WINDOW!" She provides the word and then inserts it in a repeat of the entire sentence. I'LL MAKE THE HOUSE AND YOU CAN MAKE THE WINDOWS! The student then reads the following sentence. Contrasting 2A and 2B we can see that the context provided for the same instructional cue – a decoding cue - is different: in the former it is an isolated word; in the latter the word is situated in a full sentence and a model of expressive intonation is provided.

In episodes 3A and B we can see similar differences in correction strategy. In these examples the cue consists of providing a word or phrase when the reader hesitates. 3A is taken from the same story as 2A; a new character has been introduced. He calls out to the two girls and then approaches them. The passage being read from is as follows. "The boy ran up to the girl."

3A: Cue Provided After Hesitation; Single Word.

1 C: The boy run[[ran 'up to the girl //
2 T: [ran]
3 C: 'Do you...[[want to come to the 'park//
4 T: [want]

In 3A the student reads THE BOY RUN and the teacher corrects RAN; the student corrects and finishes RUN UP TO THE GIRL. The student continues DO YOU . . . and pauses, the teacher provides the word WANT the student continues WANT TO COME TO THE PARK. During this and the continuing reading, there is no correction of the staccato, broken intonation used in reading. Instruction consists solely of providing isolated words.

Episodes 3B is taken from the same lesson as 2B. The main character's mother has come upon the boys working on their cardboard house, expressed her satisfaction and offered to help them. The passage being read from is as follows.'"I'll make you a doorway," said mother.'

3B: Cue Provided After Hesitation; Circumlocution and Quotative Model.

1 C: 'I'll make you . . .
2 T: ┌a//and 'here's another ˌcompound
3 wórd/ whàt//.
4 C: 'doorway//
5 T: ┌beautiful// 'I'll 'make 'you a dˌoorway//
6 C: └'I'll make you a doorway┘/ said mother//

In this exchange, the student reads I'LL MAKE YOU . . . and then pauses. The teacher supplies the following word A and then proceeds to the item which is presumably causing the hesitation. She continues AND HERE'S ANOTHER COMPOUND WORD, WHAT? The reader responds DOORWAY. The teacher praises the student and then models the full sentence with proper intonation. I'LL MAKE YOU A DOORWAY. The student mimics the teacher's example flawlessly and finishes the sentence, correctly destressing the attributed speaker (SAID MOTHER). As in 2A and B, the context provided for what is ostensibly the same instructional cue is different: in 3A an isolated word is the cue; in 3B information about the word is provided and then the word itself is situated within a model of the full sentence. Contrasting the low-group episodes (2 and 3A) with the high-group episodes (2 and 3B), we see that the former are given isolated decoding cues, whereas the latter are given decoding cues situated within the sentence context.

5,0 We should emphasize that episodes 2 and 3A and B are representative examples taken from transcripts of complete reading lessons. The episodes were selected to illustrate the ways in which errors corrections strategies were sensitive to what we have called prosodic reading strategies. This was done by showing how identical 'errors' prompted either decoding cues or meaning cues. In the complete lessons it is also clear that different kinds

of instructional interaction are taking place. With the low group, correction consists predominantly of low-level linguistic instruction about the grapheme-phoneme correspondences and lexical-level composition of texts. With the high group correction refers to a broad range of text elements and processes. Instruction is provided about orthography and lexical items, as in the low group; however, information about clauses, sentences, expressive intonation and attribution of speakerhood is also brought into play. The differing interactions provide very different contexts for the business of learning to read. Furthermore, what these examples do not indicate is the way in which high-group reading lessons are winnowed with comprehension questions - questions about the inferences which can be drawn from the sequencing of events in two sentences, about speakers and addressees, about emotional states as revealed by expressive quotes. Such inquiries, which frequently use sentence frames like the 'models' found in 2 and 3B, are rarely encountered in low group lessons. Instead, the context of reading in low group lessons is usually so fragmented by hesitations, corrections for mis-pronunciation, dialect and failure to recognize words, as well as distractions from within and without the group, that synthetic comprehension is difficult to achieve.

In this section we will illustrate the differential effects of reading styles and correction strategies on the 'context' for questions. In the first example it will be argued that although the student is able to answer the question correctly, the fragmentary and distracted character of the reading aloud process makes comprehension difficult at best. In the second example it will be argued that corrections and questions attend entirely to meaningful levels of text structure and that as a consequence more material is covered and comprehension is enhanced by a series of questions.

5.1 In episode 4A the passage being read is from the story "John's Bad Morning," (The story preceding "John's Afternoon" (2B)). The main character has just had an argument with his mother. The passage appears in the text as follows.

> He ran out of the house with his things.
> And then he threw his boat into the garbage can.
> Liza was there. And she saw what John did.

Although there are many corrections and several questions, as we shall see, only one of them concerns comprehension of a language unit larger than a single word.

4A: Minimally Effective Comprehension Questions

1 M Here he/. . ran/ . . out/ . . of/ . .
2 J he
3 M the house . . . wuh- with 'his 'things//
4 J with
5 M And then . . . he . . threw his
6 J sound it out/ thr:ew:
7 M bu- (boat) boat/ . . into the . . gahbage can//
8 guh-
9 J gar'bage// Say 'garbage//
10 M gahbage
11 J Don't say gahbage/ 'look at me//Say ga:r:bage/ gar:/ Say it//
12 Everybody say it//
13 CC gar: bage
14 J Celena/say it//
15 Ce gar:bage
16 J Right// Marlon/ Liza
17 M Liza . was . . there and she was
18 J where are we Sherrie there
19 J What
20 M she was saw 'what . .
21 J no//sss... how does -j- sound //
22 M juh//
23 J What's the boys' name // . . John
24 M John . . said
25 J did// She 'saw what John did// Marlon/ 'what did he do//
26 J She 'saw what he did// Now 'what did he do//
27 M He 'threw his things in the gahbage
28 J gar: bage// Right// Go on//

In lines 1 and 2 we see corrections for incorrect recognition of words. In line 3 we find the decoding instruction SOUND IT OUT, followed with a stressed and exaggerated pronunciation of the word. Then in lines 5 through 11 we see a long and embroiled attempt to correct dialect pronunciation. In lines 13 and 14, as the reader is beginning to resume, there is a distraction to correct an inattentive group member. In lines 17 and 18 there are two phonics cues. The student responds to the second of these - HOW DOES -J- SOUND - literally, and the teacher is forced to

rephrase her question. She then provides the answer. Finally, on line 21 the passage is finished and a content question is asked. The final sentence is modelled twice as a frame for the question. The student is able to answer the question, no mean feat considering the number of distractions and interruptions which have occurred during his turn at reading; he is, however, again corrected for dialect pronunciation before being instructed to proceed.

5.2 This can be contrasted with the following episode in which all of the teachers instructions and cues are concerned with text structure above the word level with the prosody (pitch register) of sentence initial position, with inferences deducible from the use of a lexical idiom, with how an invitation 'sounds', and finally, with consulting the pictures which accompany the text. The text found below is taken from the same story as that in episode 4A. John and two boys he encountered in the story have made a toy house and gotten inside of it. John's pet frog has joined them. Then John's friend Liza looks inside of the toy house. John, still angry and suspicious, informs her that she cannot come in because his frog, which she supposedly doesn't like, is inside the house with him. The printed passage reads as follows.

> "John, I have your boat," said Liza.
> "And I have a fly for your frog, too."
> "But you can't have your boat or the fly if I can't come in!"
> John looked at his frog, and he looked at Liza.
> Then he said, "Come in, Liza. Come in."

Although the passage read from is much longer than that in episode 4A, the sequence of student-teacher exchanges is shorter and, as noted above, the teacher's correction cues attend to elements of linguistic structure above the word-level.

When the passage is being read the teacher focuses on 'how' the material sounds and on the inferences which can be drawn from the occurrence of certain phrases and the overall turn of events.

48: Maximally Effective Meaning Cues and Questions.

1 C: 'John •I •have your boat/said Liza and
2 T: ⌐and¬
3 C: And I •have a fly for your frog too //
4 T: 'What's she mean by that
5 C: ⌐'For the 'frog to eat¬ //

6 T: Okay //
7 L: but...I- . but
8 J: [wait a minute till she gets through]//
9 L: but[[but
10 J: watch your books] watch your books]
11 C: 'But you 'can't..have your 'boat/or the fly/if I 'can't come in//

12 John 'looked at his frog/ and he 'looked at Liza/..
13 Then he said/[come in Liza]/
14 T: [What did he say//
15 C: [Come in]
16 T: How'd he say it //
17 C: [Come in Li-]
18 T: [Did he say [come in Liza..come..in]// Or did he say . .
19 C: [Come in], [Liza/ come in]//
20 T: [Come in/ Liza]]
21 T: Here is the other little boy and I didn't see it in Fanny's book. The little boy is kinda caught in the middle of the page, but here he is. Here's one little boy and here's the other little boy and here's John and here's Liza. I think John is in a much better mood, don't you?

In line 1 the student has read the sequence SAID LIZA AND with little pause and no perceptible change in pitch level. THe teacher corrects by providing the correct pitch level for the initial segment in a declarative sentence. In line 3 the student changes her intonation and reads the following sentence. In line 4 the teacher asks WHAT'S SHE MEAN BY THAT? In 5 the student demonstrates that she understands that the apparently declarative sentences are in effect offers by responding FOR THE FROG TO EAT. The response indicates that she has made certain assumptions about flies, frogs' eating habits and the frame TO HAVE X FOR Y. In line 6 the teacher accepts the response. Then in 7 through 10 there are several distractions and the student repeats the initial word several times. She begins anew on line 11 and finishes the passage. The fourth exchange occurs when the students reads the final part (13) of the passage very softly and fails to separate the request COME IN from the addressee LIZA. The teacher interrupts asking what John said.

The student responds by repeating the material in the same expressionless manner. The teacher interrupts again and asks HOW it was said. Although the student apparently has gotten the drift of the queries and begun to change her intonation, the teacher continues DID HE SAY and repeats the material with an exaggeratedly low voice and extra pausing. Then she proceeeds to the alternative. The student responds, overlapping with the teacher (19-20) and finishes the quote with expressive contours and a clear separation of request from addressee. The teacher finishes the exchange by pointing out and discussing the characters in the story as they appear in the pictures which accompany the text and by making the judgement that John's mood has changed. This establishes a 'scene' for the following reader.

5.3 An instructional process which consists primarily of children reading in a word-by-word fashion and teachers providing isolated decoding cues will leave the beginning readers without much practice in applying their knowledge of spoken language to the task of reading. This difference in application seems to be a major distinction between high and low-ability readers. The former are much more prone to apply their knowledge of spoken language to the task of reading: Hence, the findings of Cohen (1980) that 'good' readers will attempt to map spoken intonation onto a string of nonce-syllables in order to make sense of them, where poor readers will not; hence the findings of Canney, et al. (1978) that good readers will reject a text which does not make sense. It is useful in this light to reconsider episodes 4A and 4B. In 4A decoding cues predominated. At times they were of such a low linguistic level as to impede effective instruction (lines 17-19, where the student responds literally to the cue and the teacher is forced to rephrase the query). Comprehension questions occur rarely and in the context of a fragmented reading process. In 4B knowledge of spoken language and of the world is frequently evoked: once the query concerns knowledge of animals (line 3); once knowledge of how heartfelt invitations sound (line 13-23); and finally, the students are encouraged to consult the pictures accompanying the text when engaged in reading.

6.0 In this report we have said certain things about lasting differences in instructional emphasis. Our remarks were based on an analysis of the SHEP materials, but are corroborated in the ethnographic and comparative literature. We have also said certain things about the possible causes of differing reading styles or prosodic strategies. They appear to result,

at least in part, from the differing instructional emphases. However, they also share suggestive similarities with community-based oral narrative styles. Several general conclusions are in order. Firstly, teaching and learning are collaborative processes in which the use of language provides various long-term interactive options on the part of participants. Teachers appear to have certain implicit models of literate behavior, of discursive prose, what it sounds like and how it is put together. They appear to have differing expectations about students' readiness or ability to assimilate the skills necessary for literacy. The expectations derive in part from whatever non-linguistic criteria are used in setting up ability goups. But an important additional component is interactional history. The beginnings of this history are to be found in the early lessons and in closely related classroom activities, like the Sharing Time episodes. In the early lessons the teacher's expectations helped to produce, and were in turn reinforced by, the students' conceptions of the task of reading. One observable manifestation of such conceptions are prosodic strategies used for text-processing; and these strategies, by treating either single words or phrases and sentences as primary units, helped to determine which interactional options the teacher will take. These strategies share certain features with oral narrative styles, however, and as is discussed in some detail in the analysis of Sharing Time episodes (Michaels and Cook-Gumperz, Michaels and Collins, this report), where children's community-based discourse habits do not jibe with the teachers notions of narrative schemata and prosodic cues, then instruction is reduced both in quantity and quality. A similar state of affairs should be expected in reading group instruction. Secondly, and on a methodological note, these findings did not result from experimental studies or surveys of test populations. Rather, we used our ethnographic data and the relevant literatures to generate hypotheses about the role of language use in strategic educational settings (§1). We then searched our corpus of episodes for material with which to clarify the hypotheses (§2 and §3). Our explanations take the form of additional hypotheses which suggest directions for further research (§4 and §5).

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NOTES:

1. The concept of conversational inference and the role of prosodic contextualization cues in such inference have been discussed by John Gumperz and collaborators in a series of papers which analyze interethnic communication. For applications to West and Asian Indian English, see Gumperz (1978, 1979 and 1981),Gumperz and Kaltman (1980);for applications in educational settings, see Gumperz (1980) and Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1979).

2. This raises the controversial issue of what standardized tests measure . the importance of situation on language use in general and test-performance in particular has been documented: Labov (1970) has shown the effect of situation on the willingness of minority children to become engaged in conversation and answer test questions; Hall and Tirre (1979) corroborate Labov's findings and elaborate on the question of situation.

3. Five sessions in which individual children read with peers or for an individual adult were excluded from the initial count of 36.

4. The higher minutes-per-lesson ratio is due to disruptions in several low-ranked lessons, which then require extra time for completion. This of course is relevant to McDermott's findings that low ranked readers spend much less time at the actual task of reading because of disruption of the reading group.

5. The notations we use in transcribing prosodic and paralinguistic cues were developed by Gumperz and his collaborators based on Trim's work. In this system, tone group boundaries are indicated as major "//" or minor "/". Within the tone group we indicate the pitch contour on the nucleus as follows: "\" low fall, "\" high fall, "_" low rise, "/" high rise, "^" rise-fall, "v" fall-rise. Secondary heads are " ˈ " high or " ˌ " low. Paralinguistic features such as a) shift to high pitch register "ˆ" or shift to low pitch register "ˇ" (both applying to the entire tone group), b) pausing ".." indicating a break in timing and "..." indicating a measurable paus, c) vowel elongation " :" following the syllable, d) speech rate: "acc." indicating accelerating tempo and "dec." indicating slowing down, e) loudness over an entire tone if indicated by "p" (soft) or "f" (loud). Doubling of any one of the above symbols indicates extra emphasis.

6. All the episodes discussed in this report are taken from lessons in which the students were reading stories contained in the basal reader Amigoes; Ups and Downs (Hoguet, 1975).

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Spoken Language Strategies and Reading Acquisition

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Child #1: It looks like a music note...but it has points and it sort of looks like a saucer.

Child #2: This one just looks like a...something right here, like this part right here, looks like a key. And this right here... looks like a planet...like a ship.

Both of these children are describing an abstract figure in the presence of an adult. They have been told that their description, which is being tape recorded, will be read by one of their classmates, who will have to pick out the figure they are describing from an array of nine abstract figures. Although these descriptions were equally successful in accomplishing their task, they have a number of differences. One of these differences concerns the degree to which they are tied to the temporal and physical situation in which they are being produced. Spoken language is typically produced in face-to-face encounters in which participants share the same temporal and spatial frame of reference. This characteristic of spoken language differs from written language in that the production of the written message is separated in time and space from the decoding of the message. We believe that children's sensitivity to this difference between written and spoken language influences their acquisition of reading skill.

Teacher: Say the word "sand" without the "(s)".
Child #1: and
Child #2: sand

In order to successfully perform this task children must be aware of the segmental nature of English words. They must be able to focus on the phonological properties of the words rather than upon their meanings. This awareness, which has been called phonological awareness, is important in learning to read because reading acquisition, at least in its early stages, involves learning to map sequences of sound segments on to sequences of graphic units.

The purpose of this research then, is to study the relationships among several factors: 1. sensitivity to the spatio-temporal dependence of spoken language; 2. metalinguistic awareness of its segmental nature; and, 3. reading acquisition.

The Language Demands of School

The entry into school marks major social. linguistic, and cognitive transitions for children. Children coming to school must learn to communicate and cooperate with adults and peers outside of their home network who do not share their communicative background. They must develop new language use skills in order to participate in classroom activities, to gain access to learning opportunities, and to demonstrate what they have learned. (Simons and Gumperz, 1979). Children also face the demands of becoming literate, which is the major focus o of much of schooling. The sophisticated language skills that children develop in the course of their language acquisition are not sufficient for an effortless transition to leteracy. Their encounters with written text require them to become aware of their spoken language and its units, and to develop different discourse processing strategies. These new discourse processing skills are needed because of the differences between written and spoken language.

Written and oral language differ in multiple ways. (Rubin, 1978, Schallert, Kleiman and Rubin, 1977). Speech tends to be multi-channeled, including lexical-semantic-syntactic, interactional, paralinguistic, and nonverbal modes of transmission, while writing is unimodal, depending heavily on the lexical-syntactic-semantic channel. Oral language usually involves a high degree of interaction and involvement of participants who share the same spatial and temporal context. Written language, because the writer and reader do not share the same temporal and spatial context, has almost no interaction and less involvement.

Written language is more decontextualized or autonomous than spoken language in that it confines itself to the lexical channel. [1] "It is minimally dependent upon simultaneous transmission over other channels, such as the paralonguistic, postural or gestural, and it is minimally dependent on the contribution of background information on the part of the hearer." (Kay, 1977). Written language is more decontextualized than spoken language because it is typically less dependent on the spatial and temporal situation in which it is produced. While situational cues and simultaneous multichannel transmission of information are used in interpreting meaning of oral language situations, in written language there is only one channe. Both spoken and written language require a context for interpretation, but extra cues in the situation, in addition to linguistic cues, help create a context for the interpretation of spoken language. In written language, the context must be created from

[1] The term lexical will be used as a shorthand for lexical-syntactic-semantic.

the information available in the lexical channel, and in general the situation contributes little to the production and decoding of the message. It is in this sense that written language is more decontextualized than spoken language.

Because information can be exchanged over more than one channel in oral language communication, gesture, intonation and posture, etc., can be used redundantly and sometimes even substitute for elements of the lexical channel. Adults tend to foreground the lexical channel with the intonational channel, and background other channels. Children, on the other hand, tend to foreground the intonational channel and background the lexical channel. (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz, 1978). Since in written language the burden of the transmission of information must be carried by the lexical channel almost exclusively, one of the tasks for children in acquiring literacy skills is to shift from multi-channel signalling to uni-channel signalling. They must learn to confine themselves to the lexical channel in producing and comprehending written text, which requires that the lexical channel itself must be treated differently.

In oral communication, words may be used to refer to elements present in the situation, and to its participants, because the physical and temporal situation are shared by the speaker and the listener. This type of reference, where a word refers to an element in the context of the situation, has been called exophoric. (Halliday and Hasan, 1976). In general, reference specifies the information that is to be retrieved by a listener or reader. Exophoric reference signals the listener or reader that the information is to be retrieved from the context of the situation, while endophoric reference signals the listener or reader that the information is to be retrieved from the text itself. For example, if in a conversation the speaker says: "Will you please put the cheese over there," the interpretation of "you" and "there" depends upon knowing or being present in the situation in which the utterance occurs. "You" and "there" are used exophorically. In the sentence "Johnny walked over to the table and he put the cheese on it" the words "he" and "it" are used endophorically, when "he" refers to "Johnny," and "it" refers to "the table" or to some other antecedent in the preceding text.[2] Exophoric reference is more characteristic of spoken language than of written language, with the exception of texts where the author refers to himself, or to the reader, as in first person narratives, or letters, etc. In fictional narrative, however, all reference is ultimately endophoric, because in narrative fiction,

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[2] It is possible to use the same words exophorically, however, if "he" and/or "it" bear heavy stress and are accompanied by a gesture, etc., indicating that their referents are present in the context of the situation, in which case "he" would refer to someone other than "Johnny," and "it" to something other than the table.

"the context of situation includes a 'context of reference,' a fiction that is to be constructed from the text itself." (Halliday and Hasan, 1977). One problem for children learning to read is to learn when to interpret forms endophorically, and when to interpret them exophorically, without the disambiguating clues provided by stress, intonation, and gesture that are available in oral language situations.

Many linguistic forms that are used exophorically are also deictic. Deictic categories are relevant to the exophoric-endophoric distinction and to the question of the acquisition of literacy skills, because in general, deictic forms relate an utterance to a particular time, location, speaker, or discourse context. Categories of deixis include:[3]

Person-Deixis: pronouns

May I ride your bike?

You have my pencil.

Temporal-Deixis: temporal adverbs; tense

I saw the game yesterday.

Give it to me now.

Place-Deixis:

Adverbs: here; there

Put it there.

Put it here.

Demonstrative Adjectives and Pronouns: this; that

I want this little toy.

Give me that.

Motion verbs: come, go; bring, take

May I come in?

Do you want to go in?

Forms that are typically deictic in character may be used non-deictically. The word "here," for example, when used in represented thought in a third person narrative, does not require knowledge of a "speaker's" location, because it refers to the location of the character whose thought is being represented. In other words, if I write or say "He liked it here" in a third person narrative mode, "here" refers to the location of "He," rather than to my own location as I write(or say) the sentence. In most oral language situations,

[3] Social deixis (forms of address determined by social status), and discourse deixis (features which signal new, given or "old" information) have also been discussed in the literature.

and many written situations, such forms are used deictically, i.e., they incorporate information about the speaker's perspective. Represented thought appears in some early reading texts, although it is an infrequent phenomenon. It is likely that most children will have had little experience with this narrative mode, especially if they have not had such stories read to them in the home.

More commonly, forms that are typically deictic are used in direct quoted speech in early reading texts. In indirect speech, the word "here" would refer to the location of the speaker of a sentence, e.g., "She said (that) she liked it here." In direct speech, the word "here" would refer to the location of the quoted speaker of the sentence. In other words, in hearing or reading the sentence, 'She said, "He liked it here,"' the child must interpret "here" as referring to the location of "She," rather than to the location of "he" or the speaker (or writer) of the sentence. The comprehension of deictic or referring expressions in texts requires an understanding of how these elements function in differing text situations. Although all of the sentences above could occur in either speech or writing, they require a shift in context from the child's own temporal and spatial context for interpretation. The use of deictic terms in written text requires different language processing strategies of children, whose language experiences are mainly oral, and who are accustomed to using the physical and temporal situation to interpret deictic terms. The child must learn to anchor deictic terms in imaginary contexts and to interpret them endophorically. Some examples from primary grade texts follow, in which deictic terms, as well as other lexical items, must be interpreted from the perspective of the text and the situation described.

> But wait! Someone was <u>there</u>!
> "That's just the old baby," thought Nicky.
> But, no! It was not just the baby.
> Butch was there, too (Macmillan, 1975, <u>Colors</u> p.67)

The proximal-distal contrast which underlies the distinction between "here" and "there," must be interpreted in relation to Nicky, the main character of the story. "There" refers not only to the location of the baby, but to a place other than where <u>Nicky</u> is at that moment in the narrative.

> "See that thing in the bush!" Dad and Paul
> went near it. A fawn! (Barnhart and Bloomfield,
> <u>Let's Read</u>, p. 194)

In this example, "that thing" is coreferential with "a fawn," and must be interpreted endophorically, while "that" implies a distal location in relation to "Dad and Paul."

"Sally said to Jill, 'Come to my house tomorrow."
(Rubin, 1978)

When reading this passage, the child must realize that "my" refers to Sally, that "tomorrow" refers to the day after the utterance is produced, that "come" indicates that Sally will be at home the next day, and that Jill will come from some location other than Sally's house. "Come," "my" and "tomorrow" must be interpreted in relation to Sally, and to the hypothetical "moment" she utters the invitation in the context of the narrative. While quoted discourse provides an indirect kind of anchorage for "deictic" expressions, in that one can refer them to a character in the context of the narrative, some first grade texts use deictic forms without introducing the speaker. Some examples follow.

"Such a load to bring into the house." (Barnhart and Bloomfield, p. 227)

Here the deictic form "bring" indicates that the "speaker" is in the house, but it is left to the child to create a context for its interpretation. There is no explicitly named character which can be identified as the "speaker."

"Jack may play with this train, and Dick may play with that train." (Barnhart and Bloomfield)

In this example, the proximal-distal contrast implicit in the meaning of this and that indicates that the train that Jack will play with is closer to the "speaker" of the sentence than the one that Dick will play with. Because the sentence is not part of a larger text, however, the creation of a context for interpretation is entirely left to the child. The speaker is never explicitly identified.

> "Nick and Frank cannot lift the big bench. Gus and Dan will help them bring it out on the lawn. Gus will help Nick and Dan will help Frank. Gus will help lift Nick's end, and Dan will help lift Frank's end. Gus will help at this end and Dan will help at that end." (Barnhart and Bloomfield)

In this passage the deictic term "bring" suggests that the speaker is out on the lawn. The proximal-distal contrast between this and that indicates that Nick's end is closer to the speaker than is Dan's. The passage, and the two examples which precede it would be easily interpreted in appropriate oral, face-to-face situations, because the location and identity of the speaker would be given information which could be retrieved from the context of the situation, providing reference points for interpreting "bring," "this," and "that." As written texts, they are more difficult to interpret, because the context must be created solely from the information available in the lexical channel.

In the examples above, the reader must interpret the deictic terms from the perspective of the text, rather than from his own physical perspective. He must create a context, interpret the text in terms of it, and become less dependent upon the immediate situation for his language use. He must learn to process language in a more decontextualized way.

The precise manner in which deictic terms in text may create reading problems for children is not clear. In some cases, they may misinterpret deictic terms and actually misunderstand the text, or, the shifting of perspective may add more processing time and central effect to reading, and add to its difficulty. The extra difficulty introduced by deictic terms may accumulate over time to interfere with the reading acquisition process. One would also expect that there would be individual differences in the ability to adapt to interpreting deictic terms endophorically. These individual differences should be related to children's ability to detach themselves from the immediate situational context and to create a different perspective from which to interpret deictic terms. One of the purposes of this study is the examination of the relationship between children's ability to use decontextualized spoken language in a situation where it is required and their reading ability. An association would be predicted, given the assumption that the use of decontextualized spoken language facilitates an endophoric interpretation of terms in written text, and the

further assumption that the ability to interpret such terms endophorically translates into improved reading performance.

Metalinguistic Awareness and Reading Acquisition

Another demand that reading makes on children's language use is that they be conscious or aware of their primary linguistic activities -- listening and speaking. This awareness has been called metalinguistic awareness. (Mattingly, 1972) Metalinguistic awareness is the ability to focus on the language itself as an object rather than on the meaning or the intention of the communication. It allows language users to focus attention on the phonological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of language, to notice anomalies at these different linguistic levels, and to comment on them. It allows them to segment spoken sentences into words, and words into phonemes (see Ehri, 1978 for a review of these studies). In their informal conversations, speakers and listeners focus on the meaning and the intention of the participants rather than the form of the communication. The phonological and syntactic rules and units used, are out of their focal awareness.

While all normal children develop into linguistically competent users of spoken language, there are great individual differences in metalinguistic skills, and these individual differences differ depending upon the linguistic level. As Rozin and Gleitman (1977) put it:

> The lower the level of the language feature that must be attended to and accessed for any language like activity beyond comprehension, the more individual differences we find in adults; further, the lower the level of language feature, the later its accessibility to the language learning child. Semantics is easier to access than syntax, and syntax easier than phonology. With phonology, again, global syllables are easier to access than phonemes and phonetic features.(p.90)

It is believed by Rozin and Gleitman and other researchers that metalinguistic awareness in general, and phonological awareness in particular, are important factors in, and possibly necessary prerequisites for learning to read. This belief is based on 1) the existence of individual differences in metalinguistic awareness, 2) the fact that learning to read is difficult while learning to talk is apparently effortless, 3) the findings of positive correlations between reading achievement and metalinguistic skills such as the ability to segment words into phonemes and sentences into words, and 4) the fact that phonological segmentation skill, which has strong relationships with reading achievement, appears to be closely related to understanding the alphabetic nature of English orthography and learning sound-spelling correspondence.

Understanding the alphabetic nature of English orthography and learning sound-spelling correspondences are important in learning to read because they are important in learning to decode. It has been argued that metalinguistic awareness at the phonological level is an important skill in learning to read because it appears to be a prerequisite to learning to decode, and because large individual differences exist which show high correlations with learning to read. This argument has some problems, however. First, the importance of learning to decode as a necessary part of learning to read has been questioned by Smith (1973), and Goodman (1979). Second, the empirical evidence is mainly correlational; thus it is consistent with several other possible versions of the relationship, including the possibility that metalinguistic awareness develops as a consequence of learning to read. Ehri (1979) has reviewed the evidence and has argued that it facilitates learning to read. However, whether or not metalinguistic awareness is a cause or a consequence of learning to read, it is an important language skill that is associated with learning to read, and it is not very well developed before reading is encountered. The acquisition of metalinguistic skills in school requires children to use language in a different manner than in their normal communication. Instead of focusing on the content or meaning of the language, they must focus on its form, particularly at the phonological level in order to acquire decoding skills, and since most beginning reading programs focus on decoding to some degree, almost all children need to develop phonological awareness. There are of course great individual, social class and ethnic differences in the possession of these skills among children entering school. These differences may in part be due to exposure to literacy and literate-like activities. Thus some children may have previous experiences that make meeting these new demands easier. This study examined the relationships between phonological awareness and reading skill.

Decontextualized Language and Phonological Awareness

The relationship between phonological awareness and sensitivity to decontextualized language use is relatively unexplored. However, we predicted that they would be significantly correlated because they both reflect, at different levels of language, a common ability to manipulate language outside of its every day use. Both require that language be treated as an object of attention rather than a vehicle of communication. At the phonological level, phonological awareness requires attention to the segmental nature of the sound system. At the discourse level, sensitivity to decontextualized langu-

age use requires an awareness of the influence of the spatial-temporal situation on spoken communication.

These skills differ in that they obtain at different linguistic levels, and they may require different degrees and types of cognitive skills. One would expect that phonological awareness, because it is so far removed from the focus of normal discourse, would be more difficult to develop and would exhibit greater individual differences, as Gleitman and Rozin claim, than would sensitivity to decontextualized language use which is a discourse skill. It is assumed here that discourse skills are more available and sensitive to subject's awareness. It would also be expected that phonological awareness should show a higher correlation with reading skill, because greater individual differences appear at lower levels of language features.

Design

Hypotheses

On the basis of our analysis of children's language use and the language demands of school, we formulated the following hypotheses:

1. Children's use of inappropriate contextually dependent language will be positively related to their reading achievement.
2. Children's phonological awareness will be positively related to their reading achievement.
3. Children's use of inappropriate contextually dependent language will be negatively correlated with their phonological awareness.

These hypotheses were tested through a correlational analysis of the relationships among metalinguistic awareness, inappropriate contextually dependent language use and reading achievement.

Variables

Inappropriate Contextually Dependent Language Use

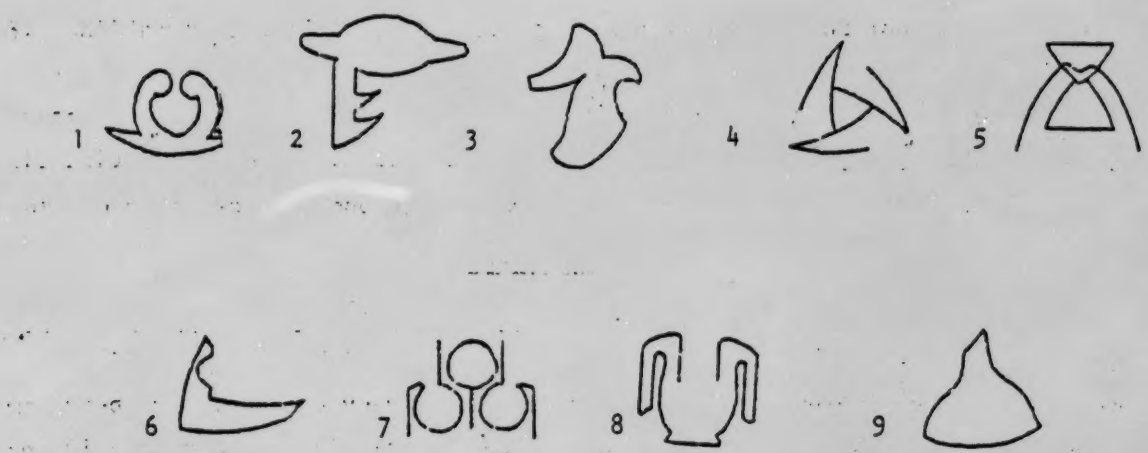
Children's use of inappropriate contextually dependent language was measured by a modified version of the referential communication task. (Krauss and Glucksberg) In this task subjects were required to describe into a tape recorder a series of abstract figures. The subjects were told that their description would be used at a later time to enable a classmate to identify each figure described. The referential communication task has been typically administered with the other child present, but behind a screen. It has been used to study children's communication strategies. (See Glucksberg, Krauss and Higgins, 1975, for a review of these studies) It is also believed to measure

children's accuracy of communication and their ability to take another person's perspective. (Flavell et al,1975) It was used in this study because it requires language use that is similar to that required in reading written text. The sender and receiver of the message are separated in time and space. Both written language and this task require a subject to use language that is minimally dependent upon the situation. In other words, this task, as well as reading written text, requires the use of decontextualized language. Assuming that learning to read written language requires learning to give up dependence upon the physical and temporal context or situation, it was predicted that the production of inappropriate contextually dependent language would be negatively associated with reading achievement.

The measures of inappropriate contextually dependent language use employed were the absolute number of exophoric-deictic references, and the number of exophoric-deitic references divided by the number of clauses (EXO Ind).

Language Use Task: Materials and Procedures

The stimulus items were nine abstract figures (Krauss and Glucksberg, 1969, Heider, 1971), drawn in black ink and mounted on separate 3 x 5 inch cards. They were assigned numbers for the purpose of identification, and assembled into a fixed array:



Subjects were individually asked to describe each of the nine abstract figures into a tape recorder, with the purpose of enabling a future peer listener to select the stimulus item which elicited each encoding from the array. E presented the following instructions to S:

E: Do you see all these pictures? I'm going to point to one, and I'd like you to look at it and describe it...tell what you think makes it special from the others...mention anything you'd like to say about it. But the description is not for me. You're doing it for _____ or someone else who's not here right now. You are talking to this person in a way that, if I were to bring him here later, show him the pictures all mixed up, and play him the tape, he could pick out the one you're talking about just from your description, without you present here.

E proceeded from figure 1 to 9, although some Ss spontaneously varied this order slightly. Ss were permitted to take the target stimulus card and turn the figure around or upside down in examining it. E prompted each S to say more if he/she stopped after a minimal encoding. When Ss produced descriptions with exophoric-deictic references they were reminded that the person who would hear the tape was not present.

Scoring Procedures

The protocol descriptions produced by each subject were transcribed, and the wirtten texts were used for the scoring procedures. Three scores were produced: number of exophoric-deictic forms, number of clauses, and the proportion of exophoric-deictic forms, which was computed by dividing the number of exophoric-deictic forms by the number of clauses.

A clause was defined as any single word or group of words operating in conjunction with a verb to convey an idea. The T unit, which has been used in many language studies was not used as a measure in this study because syntactic complexity was not being investigated, and the ratio reflecting the subject's communicative strategy would have been distorted by such a measure, having the effect of penalizing those students who exhibited greater control over syntactic subordination. If one subject tends to produce single clause T-units, and another produces more complex structures, the ratios would not be strictly comparable. For example, in one protocol the subject said, "...but it doesn't have...um something...that is underneath this part." One could count this as a single T-unit and it would have a ratio of exophoric-deictic reference to clause of 1/1. In the protocols of other subjects, the same idea might be expressed as "...but it doesn't have something underneath this part and it's not underneath this part," resulting in a ratio of 1/2. In oral discourse, the latter construction is perhaps the more typical because people tend to loosely connect ideas with conjunctions (e.g., and, but, and so), not having the time to more explicitly structure their relationships.

Items were counted as separate clauses if all or part of a verb construction was present. In the following sentecne, for example, three separate "clauses" would be counted: "Sort of looks like a moustache going like that and..c..curls." This type of construction presented something of a problem in that curls in the example cited could be either a noun or a verb with the subject deleted. Only two such incidents occurred, however, and they were counted as clauses. Items were not counted as clauses if they were lists of attributes, e.g., "And looks like a....turtle, and a tail." Repetitions were not counted more than once, e.g., "Now that one got...now that one got six corners to it." Single word and short phrase responses to Experimentor's prompts were not counted, because they are more appropriate for conversational interaction. Longer responses were also omitted if they represented conversational digressions, i.e., only clauses that represented subject's attempts to actually describe the object were counted.

Incidents of exophoric-deictic reference were counted if it could be determined that the reference was to one (or part of one) or in a few cases, more than one of the objects, e.g., "These look like those." The incidents of exophoric-deictic reference consisted almost entirely of the gestural items this, that, here and there. Less frequent was the occurrence of plural deictic pronouns, e.g., these, those, and them (a form used interchangeably in some dialects with those). "That" was not counted if it was used endophorically, or to introduce a relative clause, and it was not counted if it signalled the end of a sequence. All three conditions apply in the following example: "That's all that I can say." Pure repetitions were not counted, e.g., "Um...this one, this one is shaped like a triangle." See also examples below.* However, sequences such as "this one got lines and this one got lines," were counted as having two incidents of exophoric reference when it was clear that the subject was contrasting separate items or parts of items. The following examples listed in Table 1 from the protocols are representative of the types of exophoric-deictic reference that occurred:

Table 1

Examples of Exophoric-Deictic Reference

"This looks like...*that looks like a flyin' saucer...but...that looks like a big, giant hook!"

"This one just looks like a...uh...somethin' right here, like this part right here, looks like a key."

"...it looks like...um...it's a monster.....here's his lip and here's his paw."

Table 1 (cont.)

"This one is shaped down, and...it's...it goes around and-these little points."

"It kinda like a key, 'cause it have two of these things...two of these ri-...and it's round an' got these little things stickin' out."

"These...*them two is down:..."

"That one looks like a square...it's like that."

"That s-, *that looks like the gun shooter like, when you hold it like... thisn'...that's look like that."

"That look like...um...part...of a...right here....these look like...um two fingers...look like two fingers...um that look like...um...a vase, like you put water in there."

"...that's a triangle...right there...and this look like...a thing you cut grass with, right there...and you put here a little...it got here a little hook."

"Oh...and these, n' these* don't have no holes like this, dont' have nothin' like this go around like that, go straight like..."

"And this one, this* one look like this..."

"...and these look like some fingers go-goin' aounrd 'em, and it gots two and it gots two corners, no, no, it got four corners right there."

"And--, and that one, like, and that* one, um down there, it kinda it look like, um the one that,that um, I'm talkin' about."

"Well, there's sort of a...triangle in here, and there's sort of...almost a triang-...um...a--...triangle in here, on these things that don't go all the way down yet."

"See-...this one...these two is the same, but this one is not."

A measure of reliability was obtained for the exophoric-deictic reference scores by having a second person score and rank the data. Because the analysis was based on ranked data, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance was used to obtain a measure of agreement between rankings. When N>7, the x^2 distribution may be used to test the significance of the coefficient. In this case, with an N of 21, the critical value of the x^2 distribution (df = 20, $p<.01$, $W = .99$, $x^2 = 39.95$) indicated statistically significant agreement between the rankings which was judged adequate for considering the scoring system consistent.

To rule out the possibility that clause length differed significantly, which would have had the effect of altering their rankings on the dependent variable, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance was also computed as a measure of agreement between subjects' rankings on number of references per word, and their rankings on number of references per clause. The results ($W = .955$, $df = 20$, $x^2 = 38.19$, $p < .01$) showed significant agreement.

Phonological Awareness[1]

Phonological awareness was measured by a phonemic segmentation task (PHSEG). In this task subjects are required to listen to a word, repeat it and then say the word with a specified segment missing. For example: subjects were asked to produce the word "tall" without the /t/. When subjects failed to produce the correct response they were given a second trial. Subjects were given credit for the item if they produced a correct response on the first or second trial.

There were 22 words included in the task, 11 real and 11 nonsense monosyllable words. The nonsense words were parallel to the real words. The words are listed below, followed by the segment that was to be deleted.

Real	Nonsense
tall - [t]	[tɔp] - [t]
chill - [č]	[čæk] - [č]
sand - [s]	[sæld] - [s]
ship - [s]	[šæp] - [s]
shape - [š]	[šæn] - [š]
pray - [p]	[pret] - [p]
brat - [r]	[briv] - [r]
stay - [t]	[stig] - [t]
stack - [s]	[stɛk] - [s]
soap - [p]	[foop] - [p]
ant - [t]	[ɛnt] - [t]

All the real words produced real but different words after the specified segment was deleted. The nonsense words all produced nonsense words when the specified segment was deleted. [tɔp] which is a real word, "top," in the dialect of one of the authors was mistakenly included as a nonsense word. Sub-

[1] Two other metalinguistic tasks were administered - a phoneme blending task and a lexical deletion task. Both of these tasks produced the same results as the phoneme segmentation task. This report will only report the phoneme segmentation task.

jects were given a set of two practice words to explain the task and to determine whether subjects understood it. These words were compound words "toothbrush" in which "brush" was to be deleted, and "cowboy" in which "boy" was to be deleted. This type of segmentation has been shown to be easier than phonemic segmentation because the units are more salient in spoken language than are phonemes. All subjects appeared to understand the task. The total number of items correct was used in this study.

The major assumption underlying the use of this task was that the ability to successfully accomplish it indicates an awareness of the segmental nature of English pronunciation.

Reading Achievement

Reading achievement was measured by the Comprehension Subtest of the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) Level B Form S (McGraw-Hill 1973).

The metalinguistic task and language use task were administered over the first half of the year by the research team. The CTBS was administered by the teacher as part of the regular school district testing program.

The metalinguistic tasks and the language use task were administered individually by a research assistant who was familiar with the subjects because she worked in the classroom several days a week as a teacher's aid. The tasks were administered in a separate private room.

Subjects

The subjects of this study were in one first grade classroom in a primary school in Berkeley, California. These children were in a classroom that was chosen for the larger ethnographic study that is described in this report (Gumperz and Simons 1977). The classroom contained 29 children. Two children were excluded from this study because they failed to complete several of the tasks. The class was ethnically mixed with 13 lower SES Black children (7M and 6F) and 11 middle and upper middle class Caucasian children (6M and 5F). Race and SES were almost toally confounded in this study, so that it will be impossible to distinguish separate effects. To simplify the reporting of this study the term race will be used. The reader should understand it to mean race and SES.

Results

The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2. The percentile scores on the COMP indicate that the group as a whole was well above

average. There was a cluster of Ss at the 90th percentile or above in COMP (37.5%), and 62.5% of the Ss were above grade level (50th %tile).

Table 2

Basic Statistics

Variable	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range	Highest Possible
PHSEG	16.2	5.1	6-24	24
EXO	15.2	13.9	0-51	--
Clause	35.4	22.9	9-97	--
EXO-INDEX	38.1	22.1	0-79	--
COMP (%tile)	66.0	26.8	1-93	99

Hypothesis 1. Children's use of inappropriate contextually dependent language will be negatively related to their reading achievement.

The relevant correlations can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3

Correlations

Inappropriate Contextually Dependent Language Use and Reading Achievement

	COMP
EXO	-.20
Clause	.00
EXO-IND	-.39*

*$p > .01 < .05$

While EXO and Clause showed nonsignificant correlations, EXO-IND was significantly correlated with reading performance. Thus the number of exophoric-deictic references adjusted for the number of clauses produced, rather than the absolute numbers of exophoric-deictic references, is related to reading achievement. The smaller the proportion of exophoric references the higher the reading achievement and the higher the proportion of exophoric references the lower the reading achievement. The amount of talk as measured by the number of clauses produced and the absolute number of exophoric references are not related to reading achievement.

When race is partialed out of the significant relationship it becomes nonsignificant. The correlation between EXO-IND and COMP drops from a significant to nonsignificant correlation (-.39* to -16). Race appears to act as mediating variable between inappropriate contextually dependent language use and reading comprehension. The results support the hypothesis, but suggest that other variables (race and SES) mediate this relationship.

Hypothesis 2. Children's phonological awareness will be positively related to their reading comprehension.

The relevant correlation can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4

Correlation

Phonological Awareness and Reading Achievement

Variable	COMP
PHSEG	.74**

**p<.01

The correlation supports the second hypothesis. Metalinguistic skill at the phonological level is substantially related to reading achievement. This relationship is only weakly mediated by race. When the effect of race is partialed out of this relationship through the use of a partial correlation, the correlation drops but remains substantial, as can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5

Partial Correlation

Phonological Awareness and Reading Achievement with Race-SES

Partialled Out	Zero Order	Partial "r"
PHSEG - COMP	.74**	.55**

**p<.01

The data provide strong support for the hypothesis. Subjects who have a high degree of phonological awareness have a strong tendency to be better readers than subjects who have a low degree of phonological awareness, re-

gardless of their race or socio-economic status. Awareness of the segmental nature of spoken language appears to be an important factor in learning to read.

Hypothesis 3. Children's use of inappropriate contextually dependent language will be negatively correlated with their phonological awareness.

The correlation between EXO-IND and PHSEG is -.46*. This correlation supports the hypothesis and suggests that these tasks reflect the same underlying ability on different linguistic levels. This is the ability to treat spoken language as an object, to reflect on it and to manipulate it to meet the task demands that require it to be used differently than normal conversation. It is this ability that may be necessary in learning to read.

Discussion

The results of this study provide strong support for the importance of metalinguistic skills in reading achievement, independent of the effect of race. The support for the relationship between reading achievement and use of decontextualized language is more equivocal. Moderately significant negative relationships were found between the measures of contextually dependent language use and reading achievement. However, this relationship was completely mediated by Race-SES. The question to be dealt with in this discussion is what are the mechanisms of these relationships? In the case of metalinguistic skills, the mechanisms are much clearer. Either before learning to read, or during the process of learning to read, a child must become aware of the segmental nature of English words and sentences. This can be accomplished through language activities that focus on the segmental characteristic of language. Participating in language activities which focus on language segments, such pig latin (Savin, 1972), rhyming activities, and other types of group and individual play would increase children's metalinguistic awareness before they enter school. Cazden (1974) presents several examples from the literature of the types of language play that could develop metalinguistic awareness during the course of language acquisition. Prereading activities such as working with letters and sounds could also develop metalinguistic skills. However, the most likely place that they are learned is during the course of reading instruction, particularly during decoding or phonics instruction. In fact, one of the implicit purposes of decoding instruction is to develop metalinguistic skill. One would expect then that decod-

ing instruction would develop metalinguistic awareness.

In the classroom under study, the low reading group (all Black-low SES) received more decoding instruction than did the high group (all Caucasian-mid SES, with the exception of one Black child). (Collins, 1980, this report) The middle group was racially mixed and received decoding and meaning emphasis approaches. Reading group membership correlated .84 with COMP. It is not clear how successful decoding instruction was for the low group. No post metalinguistic awareness tests were given, so improvement in it could not be measured. If decoding instruction was successful, one would expect a lower correlation between metalinguistic awareness and reading since decoding instruction should close the gap between those that have metalinguistic awareness and those that do not. However, the high reading group who possessed high metalinguistic scores to begin with, may have profited considerably from the meaning approach. If so, the gap would remain the same, resulting in the high correlation between metalinguistic awareness and reading achievement. It may also be the nature of the decoding instruction that affects the correlation between metalinguistic awareness and reading achievement. Collins (1980) has argued that the failure to place phonics instruction in a meaningful context interferes with reading achievement. However, the lack of a M.A. post test and the effect of other factors that may influence reading achievement make these possibilities highly speculative.

The significant correlation between contextually dependent language use and reading achievement provides support for the hypothesis. However, the fact that the correlation becomes nonsignificant when race-SES is partialled out suggests that these variables paly a role in mediating the relationship. One explanation is that Black (low SES) children may use more exophoric-deictic references than Caucasian(mid-SES) children, thus confounding race-SES with contextually dependent language use. This explanation is supported by a T test between group means. Caucasian children ($\bar{X}$ = 29.3, SD = 18.0) had lower EXO-IND scores than the Black children ($\bar{X}$ = 45.5, SD = 23.2). The difference approached a significant level (p = :066). The explanation is also supported by the fact that race correlated with EXO-IND (-.37). Black children produced higher EXO-IND scores. This correlation was significant at the p = .03 level.

Bernstein (1971-1975) and Hawkins (1969) have shown that there are class differences in deixis use, with the lower class using more of it. Others, including Hess and Shipman (1966) have argued on the basis of the Bernstein work that this type of language use carries less meaning in communication. However, Hill (1977) has shown rather conclusively that this is not the case, by show-

ing that exophoric-deictic terms are just as meaningful as are lexically explicit words such as names.

In an oral context in which information is conveyed holistically, exophoric-deictic reference may designate location (or other information about an object) more precisely than other forms of reference. Exophoric-deictic expressions are motivated by their intrinsic efficiency, because they allow a reduction in the linguistic signal and avoid unnecessary redundancy and elaboration. However, exophoric-deictic expressions appear less often in written texts than in spoken language. Thus children's ability to interpret deictic terms endophorically should be related to their ability to read written text.

The EXO-IND score provides an indirect measure of children's ability to deal with endophoric interpretations by measuring their skill at adapting their language in situations where the use of exophoric reference is inappropriate. The correlation of race-SES with EXO-IND found in this study suggests that Black children have more trouble doing this than Caucasian children. However, the moderateness of the correlation suggests that ethnicity and/or social class differences are not the only factors in decontextualized language use.

How do children learn to use decontextualized language? It is to this question that we now turn. Reading instruction certainly provides no systematic or explicit instruction designed to help children handle the decontextualized language that is encountered in written text, although factual comprehension questions that focus on information explicitly mentioned in the text may be of some help.

However, there is another area of classroom activity that may serve as a vehicle for teaching children to use decontextualized language. This is sharing time, or show and tell, an activity in which children are required to describe an object or give a narrative account of some past event in front of the rest of the class. Cook-Gumperz and Michaels (1979) argue that this activity is implicitly designed to bridge the gap between oral discourse and the acquisition of literacy skills. Their analysis of the teacher's questioning strategies in sharing time episodes shows that the teacher's notion of adequate sharing follows a literate mode. As Cook-Gumperz and Michaels demonstrate, the teacher appears to be trying to get the children to produce discourse that shares some of the characteristics of written language. The teacher's notion has the following characteristics:

1. Objects are to be named and described, even when in plain sight.
2. Talk is to be explicitly grounded temporally and physically.
3. Discourse is to be tightly structured so as to highlight one particular topic (which then makes it sound 'important').
4. Thematic ties need to be lexicalized if topic shifts are to be seen as motivated and relevant. (Cook-Gumperz and Michaels, 1979, p.8).

These characteristics tend to be features of written discourse. The first two, lexical explicitness and the necessity of grounding the narrative temporally and physically, are relevant to this paper. They require that the child shift from a use of exophoric referents to endophoric referents. They require that the child lexicalize information in the narrative that is filled in by the situation and shared background knowledge in ordinary conversation. The following examples from sharing time protocols demonstrate this point:

Example 1:

C: Yesterday, when I came home my mother took me to a store and I bought these.
T: What are they?
C: Bells.
T: Little jingle bells.

Example 2:

C: Saturday I got a Tom and Jerry game.
T: How do you play it?
(Starts to open game)
T: Pretend I can't see it.

Example 3:

Warren: I went to the beach and I found this little thing in the water.
T: For goodness sake, what is it?
Derek: A block.
Cs: A block, a block.
T: A block. When did you to to the beach?

Example 4:

C: When I went to the...when I went to the doctors and I thought I was gonna get a shot but I didn't and, I had to put this thing in my mouth for a long time...
T: What was it?

In these examples, the children refer to objects exophorically and they

sometimes fail to ground their talk temporally and physically with explicit lexical information. In examples 1, 2 and 3, the objects are present in the temporal and physical situation. The teacher's questioning strategy is designed to elicit an explicit lexical name and/or description. In example 3, the child is encouraged to anchor his narrative temporally. In example 4, the object is not present in the situation. Here the item is anchored in the situation being described. In general, the teachers comments are designed to help the child detach him or herself from the physical situation (Pretend I can't see it) and to encourage the use of lexicalized rather than pronominal or deictic references (What is it?).

The teacher of the children in this study attempts to shape the children's oral sharing discourse through her questions and comments so that it conforms to her literate notion. By doing this she may help prepare them to use spoken language in a way that makes written text easier to read. Cook-Gumperz and Michaels (1979) have shown that there is wide variation in the degree to which "sharing" is successful in the teacher's terms. These variations tend to be correlated with race, with the Caucasian children producing more successful sharing discourse and the Black children producing less successful sharing discourse. Because Black discourse style is very different from Caucasian discourse style, it tends to be harder for the Caucasian teacher to follow, and thus her questions interfere with the production of adequate discourse by the Black children, rather than building upon it as with the Caucasian children. Thus, this activity is unsuccessful for Black children and successful for Caucasian children as an aid to literacy. This may help to explain the finding in this study that race mediates the relationship between inappropriate contextually dependent language use and reading achievement.

Sharing thus provides at least one mechanism for showing how school activities help children adapt their oral language to the demands of written text. The importance of teacher questions in fostering or interfering with this adaptation deserves further study.

Future research should explore the process by which metalinguistic awareness develops, before and while children are in school. It should also focus in more detail on classroom language activities such as sharing in order to show in detail how children's language is shaped to meet the teacher's literate language notions.

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INTERACTIVE STYLES IN INSTRUCTIONAL TALK

Jenny Cook-Gumperz

A critical problem for the study of children's language competence in educational settings has been identified by Scribner and Cole as the discrepancy between the cognitive-communicative skills that the child brings to the school and those expected of the child in formal educational settings. Scribner and Cole say the "the school represents a specialized set of educational experiences which are discontinuous from those encountered in everyday life and that it requires and promotes ways of learning and thinking which often run counter to those nurtured in practical daily activities." (Science 1973) While Scribner and Cole have examined in some detail the cognitive consequences of this discrepancy, especially as it affects children in different cultural contexts, there is a need also to study the discourse requirements made by the school as well as the child's communicative experiences and practices both in and out of school.

The school classroom is a highly complex social system, socialization into which requires a developmentally varied amount of time for children. However. classrooms, like may other settings in real life, are such that the participants are operating within them before such times as they could be regarded as having learned all the requirements of the social situation. That is the children are learning the necessary requirements for adequate performance as they go along, by practice (Florio 1977). It is particularly for this reason that teachers' styles of explanation, of giving instructions, of setting out rules of classroom actions at the beginning of the school year make up a good amount of the school day, and provide a very essential discourse encoding of the social knowledge necessary to be "in school" and in the social entity of that particular classroom.

School days are social events in which language forms much of the interaction. However, many of the speech events are intended to produce structures

that attain to certain goals, most particularly the move from spoken communication to communication through writing. We will take it to be the case that the teaching and attainment of literacy as "reasoning through written and recorded symbols" is the principle aim of the school in our society--in fact, in "schooling" everywhere. To begin with the notion of literacy as written and recorded information places a special set of discourse constraints or requirements upon the ideas about what constitutes good or adequate communication. These adult-centered ideas of communication competence are available to shape the teacher's instructional and explanation styles, and further to influence the teacher's own idea of language as a social form. By this I mean that for adults language as a social phenomenon has a different place in life; and that within our culture we have a view of language which is intrinsically shaped by the influences of the written forms, that is, by adult literacy itself. For while speech itself is reflexive and in its own production generates and guides social interaction, at the same time the actual sequencing and linguistic choices in talk are constrained by discourse requirements which express previously developed social expectations.

In order to begin to explore the influence upon the teacher's and children's communication and interaction within classroom situations, we decided to highlight one specific area of communication where differential expectations about communication and discourse form were likely to operate and where the discontinuity between school goals and practical activities outside of school were likely to clash: the area of instruction-giving and instructional talk. Instructions can be seen as one form of rule-giving in which the main constraint upon form is that of adequacy/accuracy of information to accomplish the desired goal. (Much & Schwader 1978) Part of the problem for the formulation of instructions is that communication about the goal for which the instructions are intended, and the instructions themselves, need to be presented in such a way that similar solutions can be reached by different people in different situations--that is, in a way that is contextually non-specific or communicatively decontextualized.

It is for these, as well as the more apparent organizational reasons, that instructions both as directives and as explanations, make up a large part of the communicative context of the school classroom. In order to look at performance of instruction-giving, we need first a digression to look at some of the ways that instruction-giving is structured both as a discourse form and as a communication task, in order to see the culturally-accumulated influences that underlie the teacher's performances.

A Digression on Instructions

The adult ideal of instructions is that the right set and sequence of words and structures will provide an algorithm for action. As Ellen Markman (1977) in a recent paper looking at children's comprehension of instructions comments: the person instructed listens, mentally rehearses the sequence of instructions to see if the words and structures, and the listener's understanding of them, corresponds to possible do-able actions which will results in the desired goal; then proceeds to follow the verbal instructions. Our assumption of the instructions is that they should be complete--that is, both giving relevant description and sequencing orders in such a way that each action is the best choice follow-on from the previous one. The sequence should begin at a reasonable or formulated starting point and the instructions should contain all the information necessary to reach the goal. A good example of such ideal-typical forms of instructions can be found in cooking recipes (see also Goody 1976). The following example provides diagrammatically some evidence of the ideal of clear and sufficient instruction-giving.[1] The basic characteristic of written instructions that all sufficient information should be explicated so that correct action can follow, is met in the cake mix instructions as in all diagrammatic instructions, by avoiding syntactic complexity, which for prose instructions is the usual means to achieve such detailed explication and by substituting design features.

White Cake

Preheat oven to 350°. Generously grease (about 1/2 Tablespoon each pan) and then flour pans.

Mix In a large bowl combine mix, 1-1/3 cups of water and 2 egg whites; blend until moistened. Scrape bowl and beaters.

Beat 2 minutes at high speed, then 1 minute at medium speed. For best results use an electric mixer. If hand mixing, beat vigorously 600 strokes. Note: Deluxe II batter is made specially fluid to make a very moist cake.

Bake Bake at 350° until done. Cake is done if center springs back when touched lightly with finger.

When baking at high altitudes or using only 1/2 package, see side panel.

Baking Times	
	Two 9" x 1-1/2" round layers ..... about 25-30 minutes
	Two 9" x 1-1/2" round layers ..... about 20-25 minutes
	One 13" x 9" x 2" oblong ..... about 30-35 minutes
	24 medium cup cakes ..... about 15-20 minutes

For Handling Ease Cool cake in pan, on cooling rack, at least 10 minutes but no longer than 20 minutes. Remove from pan and cool top side up on rack. Frost when fully cool (see side panel for frosting recipe).

The particular skill needed to write and design such instructions involves highlighting those statements which provide key pieces of information for the interpretation-action chain. The entire set of instructions can be seen as a single icon, from which subsets of information can be extracted, not merely by a reading which moves in one single linear direction but by moving fowards through the items marked in large or colored type and then recycling back through the instructions to read the small print details. This method can be used for any written prose and of course it is this, among other features, which sets the understanding of written language apart from the understanding of the spoken. But in the case of the example instructions the graphic design initially frames the total set of instructions in such a way that it is apparent what information is primary, what secondary. Such a statement of priorities is usually given in ordinary expository prose indirectly through the use of certain syntactic devices, such as placing detail in the embedded clauses. The clearly designed set of instructions for cake mixes have a dual function; the syntactic features provide for adequate information to be received from a "normatively correct" linear reading; whereas the design features, iconographic features, provide for recycling of the instructions from instructions of greater to those of lesser urgency, for correct completion of the actions. A prose rather than a diagrammatic account provides for a different relationship between the linearly presented instructions and the conduct of the activity. The graphic techniques fill out the syntactic information in such a way that the syntactic complexity is not necessary. We can summarize the discourse and communicative task evidence provided in these publically available good and effective instructions as a set of discourse maxims, that can be taken as underlying the discourse choices necessary in any situation of instruction-giving, and as being available to guide performances.

Maxims of Instruction-Giving

Discourse decision one: How to begin?

Instructions are sequences of talk or writing that have a very specifically formulated goal or purpose, and for these reasons the sequence of instructions needs a specifically formulated beginning to provide a link between the opening of the sequence and the projected goal.

Discourse decision two: How is the information to be chunked; how big a chunk?

Since the avowed purpose of instruction is to impart information to someone else either named or recognized, or indirectly recognized such as a readership

audience, then the decision as to how the information is to be presented is the next step of effective instruction-giving.

Discourse decision three: Feedback check; how is the action proceeding?

Discourse Decision four: Management of communication blocks; how is the instructed person receiving these statements?

Discourse decision five: Reformulation; how to present in an alternative form information not understood?

Assuming the instructions to be progressive, that is, that the purpose of instructions is to move the action sequence forward towards the goal of the completed action, discourse means have to be provided to achieve a progressive development of the action sequence.

Discourse decision six: Completion-Evaluation; how the task or goal has been reached?

Finally, assuming instructions to be goal-oriented as we have, it is necessary to assess the task as it occurs or to provide the means for doing this.

So we can see that the underlying model for adequacy in instruction-giving, shown in these maxims, assumes that words are adequate triggers for human actions and that the speech event of instruction-giving requires utterances to be assembled in discourse orders such that the utterances will be sufficient to lead to the desired action. How these ideal maxims are applied within everyday contexts may however vary within the social contexts of everyday life.

Everyday Instructions are Achieved Within Situated Performances

Within everyday social situations we talk to achieve a multiplicity of purposes, some of which only become clear after the event. However, we make the assumption that utterances are the precursors to our deeds (as in commands, requests, directives, instructions) and are the ideal pragmatic constraint that governs much of our thinking about communication.[2] We assume that utterances both precede and make a case for any actions. But we find practically many everyday situations where speech encodes experience after the fact, or where the relationship of action to direction is not a precise or neatly resolved language-directed sequence.

It is in these ways that everyday instructions, that occur within spoken discourse, differ in essential features from those that are written. The essential difference lies in the nature of situated meanings and their transmission through visual, kinesic, and prosodic means. Member's reliance on the situated features of the communication means that essential non-verbalized information can be added to the linguistic form of spoken instructions, what is called back channel information. Further, the spoken performed instructions vary not only in lexical choices, but in the conveyed meanings realized through semantic-syntactic choices. Everyday instructions, such as telling a visitor at your home how to switch on the stove or find the coffee while carrying on a conversation, depend on being already embedded within a stream of action. Some linguistic or paralinguistic features mark the instructions off from the other topics, but the key difference is the lack of verbal precision that usually marks everyday spoken instructions and the seeming amount of verbal redundancy which takes the place either of the syntactic complexity of written instructions or the graphic conventions of diagrammatic instructions.

Because everyday spoken instructions move in the opposite direction from written instruction, the move from general to greater specificity does not take place. The recommendation of clarity does not have to be realized syntactically. In everyday instructions the interpretation can be unfolded during the interaction in which the pragmatic goal, of finding the object, is the only constraint on the verbalization. Instructions could be carried on in simply repetitive phrases like, "not that," "not that, move right, over, up," and not be taken to appear too strange in a face-to-face situated context. On the other hand, too great detail or verbal specificity can appear to be strange.[3]

Given the two influences on school experiences and speech events, that is, the nature of everyday situated conveying of meanings and the perceived need in school contexts to produce 'clear talk'--talk which does not rely upon implicit assumptions and additional knowledge on the part of the audience--as a training ground for literacy, how do children and teachers respond? We shall focus first upon children's and adults' performances within an experimental context. We shall then go on to explore how these ideas and ideals are worked out in practice in the actual situated occasions of the classroom. (Within the context of this paper the instructional experiments can only be described very briefly.)

The Instructional Experiments

The purpose of this experimental task was to provide a suitable task for a face to face interaction and instruction but which did provide the possibility for

the use of verbal strategies which differed from everyday instruction-giving in context. The pairs of 4th grade children were asked to make a model using a kit of straight and circular pieces of wood, which were color coded (Tinkertoy). These kits are used in many kindergartens. One child volunteered to be the builder, the other the instructor. The builder was blindfolded so that the instructor had to rely upon verbal cues to guide the building process. The instructor was handed the instruction booklet that comes with the kit, with one of two models ringed. The model was described as a cat in the booklet or a top. In this way the instructor was required to encode the picture diagram into verbal instructions.

A special characteristic of the tasks is that the interactional quality of face-to-face contact between friends gives to the formal interview situation some of the properties of an everyday event. This kind of instructional task differs from one-way screen type tasks because the tasks do not require a special degree of lexicalization to be accomplished. The verbal instructions can be adapted to the visual events, so that the relationship between verbal encoding and decoding and the activity--that is, the semantic-interpretive-action chain--is the same as in an everyday instructional event.

The children sat facing each other at a small table (taken from the classroom) and the pieces were briefly emptied on the table so that the blindfolded child could see them but not touch them before the blindfold was put on and the task began, therefore both children knew that the pieces were colored and of two different basic shapes before the task began. The children mostly kept their place facing each other throughout the task.

The point of the task is to give instructions and on-going directions to the partner child to enable him/her to make the model according to the picture which the instructor in front of her/him has. The model build for the first task will never have seen the model diagram. Since the builder is blindfolded the instructor has to give the partner information which is specific enough for her/him to make the model, find the pieces, and put them together without seeing them. No instructions were given to the pair apart from saying to the instructor, "Try not to touch the pieces but tell your partner in words only how to make the model."

Possible strategies that could be taken up were: One, the item to be made could be described to the builder. It never was; in fact, some children seemed to think it had to be concealed. Two, an outline of the directions could have been given first on the lines, "What you'll have to do is....." Three, all the pieces needed could have been collected in a pile first (two children did this), and the table cleared (no child did this).

All the children in the experiment without exception gave a move-by-move account, starting at the beginning and going on to the end. The builder didn't question or negotiate with the instructor about the kind of instruction he could receive, although in some cases he did complain in retrospect about the kinds of instructions he had received, e.g., "Tell me more". There was no preliminary discussion. In fact, in some cases the task was begun before the builder knew it had, no announcement of a starting place. Some gave beginnings, e.g., "Okay, let's begin" or "Let's go". The impression was given that the situation was let's get going and then we'll see what kind of task it's going to turn out to be. The formulation of beginning came after it had begun; many everyday directions have this quality--they exist within the stream of talk and are only formulated during their course.

A similar task was given to a small group of adults, with the same initial instructions, in a third experiment, and a small group of 4th graders were asked to instruct several irst graders at the task so that they had repeated trials at giving instructions to the younger children.

In the comparison of the adult and child strategies, we can see that the child instructors rely more upon their own monitoring of the builder's actions--as with C's visual knowledge that T has 'sized up' the pieces. However, unlike the adults, who tend to give a verbal commentary:

> "It's too bad because those are the hard ones. That's good you're replacing that one because it's not at the tops. Okay I've placed the other stick sort of sticking straight up. Can't you feel that?",

children do not verbally encode the information they have witnessed.

The children also rely more upon prosodic cues--heavy stress and raised pitch to accomplish difficult situations and instructions, where adults are more likely to lexicalize and reformulate. Children do however add more details when in difficulties as adults do, more information in relative clauses and longer descriptive strings as a move towards greater specificity as with M and S's example, "not that, not that thing, that orange one". When the fourth grader on her third trial instructs a first grader, her strategy to solve difficulties is to produce longer, more specific strings; when these do not work she returns to a simpler, blow-by-blow directive, e.g., "no, no, one over, no".

CHILD EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES OF INSTRUCTION-GIVING

BEGINNING

D: Put that one down um umph

N: This one

D: Yes put it straight down. Move your hand around a little bit and look for a piece (very quiet)

NEGOTIATION OF SIZE

C: OK get two balls take two balls OK now get the two middle sized ones yeah umm

T: This middle sized

C: Wait You're wrong Trent not tha t Yeah yeah OK now stick them in the front I mean on the top of them. Now on the other top

DETAILS OF INSTRUCTION

D: Humm now make one about 120

N: OK

D: On the other side

N: Like on the top

D: No the next one no not that one but in between the top and the middle in the same joiner that hole which you have your finger on

FURTHER EXPANSION OF DETAILS

C: Put it down just like that OK now get a teeny stick OK now stick it right (Pause) right a little bit on top of yeach the first one no the top one the top one the top one Trent yeah no not (louder) top the next one go down a little bit the other way the other way yeah right there

M: OK that's OK now don't stick that take well put it down someplace wh you know where it is the little or thing. Take one of the round thir no not that kind there's another k that now stick the orange thing i: of the round things hole no not t hole the side hole.

S: Is this the side oh dear

M: Sylvai don't kill yourself.

S: I can't find the hole to put it in.

M: OK pick up the thing you're making put down pick up the thing you're making put the orange stick with the round thing connected to it down put it down on the ground.

ADULT EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES OF INSTRUCTION-GIVING

BEGINNING

I: You're going to make a trycycle Alice and I think you should first feel the pieces.

NEGOTIATION OF SIZE

I: And then try to find a piece. Feel the long thin pieces. You will see there are one, two, three, four, five different sizes.

B: This is the long one. I need five?

I: No, no, I wanted you to feel the length of them so when I asked you to get a piece you'll know which one to pick up. You want one smaller than that. You want one that's about half that size.

DETAILS OF INSTRUCTION

I: Ya. Maybe you can stick it around a little further down like the other one. That's the opposite side. You need to face it maybe toward you.

FURTHER EXPANSION OF DETAILS

I: That's the middle Hole. There're holes around the rim too. Ya. This doesn't look as elaborate as it is. I hope the holes are big enough. That stick may be too large. I can't touch them to see. It doesn't look clear that the holes are big enough for that stick. Oh, great. Okay, now you need a couple short pieces, sticks. Uh, I think even the shorter ones, they're some even shorter. Those are teh shortest ones. Those will go kind of in the side. Well, not the side, there's no side. Also in the hole on the top. Course you can't see the top.

The general impression of the adult instructional strategies is that the task is under greater verbal control; however, the adults took longer to make the model than the children and the instructed-builder waited for the next announcement from the instructor before proceeding. The children as we have described began in on the task immediately, the builder feeling around for the pieces and the instructor fitting in the instructions where they could to fit the progress of the builder's activities. This strategy was quicker if it worked, if it didn't it could lead to a breakdown or the wrong shape of model being made.

Conclusions: Whereas in studies of instruction-giving as referential communication (Krauss and Glucksberg) (1977) it is concluded that children even as late as fifth and seventh grade have difficulty in assessing the social effectiveness of their communications in laboratory test situations, we find that within our experimental contexts children are certainly effective even if unorthodox as communicators. Their attempts show moves in the direction of the adult-specified and practiced norms of greater specificity and reformulation. However, as Krauss and Glucksberg suggest of the one-way screen experiments, the experimental contexts may provide situations which present too great a cognitive load for children, or are too removed from the context of everyday life and its communicative reasoning to allow the children to operate within the experimental context with full control. The study of instruction-giving begins to allow us to unravel the problems of communication situations a little further. Within any instructional context there are perhaps two conflicting pulls to be considered: one, the everyday situated communicative logic which allows for the incompleteness and indexicality of talk; and two, both the ideal and operative discourse forms necessary to achieve the communicative objectives.

This finding is most salient for language communication within the classroom, and for any specific attempt to unravel the complex of communicative and discourse requirements generated by teachers and made of students in the context of the formal learning environment of the classroom.

Instructions in classroom

In making explicit the courses of action teachers are preparing the ground both for strategies of learning and for an orally-experienced literacy. Children must learn how to lexicalize the assumptions which are specific to many interactional sequences and what distinguishes particular settings from others. The lexicalization of the necessary details both of the speech activity and of what is assumed as shared knowledge provides a way of shaping the outcome and controlling the interaction itself. In the comparison of the instruction experiments between adults, and fourth graders, we noticed that while the communicative effectiveness between the pairs seemed similar the lexicalization provided greatly increased with adults. However, between first and fourth graders increasing the lexicalization of details did not increase the communicative effectiveness. Given these findings our problem now is what purpose does the move towards clarity achieve? How is communicative effectiveness and its requisite discourse forms realized in classrooms?

Within the classroom context instruction-giving varies from situations similar to those of ordinary daily face-to-face interactions where the beginning and progression can be negotiated between the two participants; to those situations which are specifically teacher's instructions where the activity is from one to many and where the beginning of a sequence is marked both lexically and prosodically. For example, in ethnographic recordings of daily classroom activities the day's events are orchestrated by the teacher, and switches are made and marked between addressing and teaching an individual child, and conducting a lesson for a group or the whole class. For teachers the switches back and forth between the different speech activities and social settings which are generated in moving through the day's lesson plans, provides a necessary communicative basis for learning and teaching. It is apparent that the marked initiations of sequences of instruction-giving provide cues for children that the following talk is subject to special conditions for the interpretation of intent. However, if we consider the reasoning underlying these ordinary teacher talk activities it appears that these switches of sequence indicate some very important basic assumptions about the functions of language as a social experience. The ultimate goal of teaching (from first to intermediate school) is the acquisition of literacy and the adult-centered assumptions of language that we have discussed at the beginning of this paper are held and demonstrated, even if implicitly, in these teacher's practices.

Teacher's speech activities are in these ways an oral preparation for literacy—the establishment of a fashion of speaking which is subject to special conditions of clarity, explicitness and adequacy which is a part of the ideal-norm of written instruction-giving, and to which focused classroom talk could provide a bridge, by establishing conditions for an 'oral literacy'. We can provide further evidence for this point of view by examining ethnographic accounts of communicative events in classrooms.

The Role of Listening

Anyone who has spent time in the classroom knows the emphasis that is placed by most teachers upon listening. If questioned about these practices, teachers comment on the children's need to "settle quietly", to "pay attention", "not to have directions repeated unnecessarily", and include constraints of time, etc. However, listening and the explicit reference to the practice of listening within the communicative context of the classroom seem to suggest further understandings about the role of language and its social functions.

In exploring the functions of listening in the classroom there seem to be two different uses for the term which gloss two rather different speaking practices and understanding about language.

One, which we will call attentive listening, is represented by such comments as,

- 1rst grade teacher at sharing time: "Boys and girls, I want you to learn to listen to each other..." (said about not talking at sharing time when one person has the floor);
- Story time: "If you're all sitting quietly and listening then I'll begin...",
- Fourth grade classroom at the start of an English period: "If everyone is sitting up straight and listening then..."

It is not surprising that listening occurs in concurrent use with terms for body posture and control—the emphasis in this use of listening is upon the act of attending both posturally and mentally (for which posture is a symbol of a non-visible attention).

The underlying language assumption is that it is necessary to hear every word that is said and the implicit assumption is that words said (or later written) are valuable. We know that most daily talk can be adequately monitored without close attention—much of the meaning can be extrapolated without hearing or knowing every word that is said, as the situated context provides an essential part of the meaning. The understanding is in the context as well as

the words that provide only a part of the meaning. But the underlying assumption for written language is that meanings can by the process of writing be decontextualized. As such the words alone should provide sufficient information for their own interpretation. Teachers' insistence--and it is very common and repeated--upon attention to the words goes beyond the mere appearance of politeness, or to let the other person have their turn. The act of attentive listening provides the grounds for socialization into this understanding about language, the value and quality of every word which leads to the notion of a decontextualized use of language, as a preparation for literacy.

The second form of listening we have discovered can be referred to as collaborative listening. This is indexed by such teacher comments as,

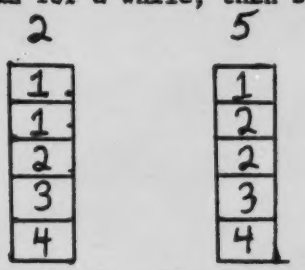
- Fourth grade teacher addressing the class at the beginning of a new assignment: "I want you to listen very carefully to what I'm going to say";
- Third grader addressing a peer group in a reading task: "This is hard, you're gonna have to listen..."

Our problem is of what does "listening carefully" consist, and why does listening help when something is hard? We suggest that the term of listening carefully provides a gloss for the activity of the hearer when listening. The assumption made by these comments is that careful listening not only catches every word but provides an essential linking to them so that the hearer can reach understanding, if necessary by filling in or remedying any imperfections in instructions that make them do-able. The underlying implication about language recognizes the essential imperfection and indexicality that was mentioned at the beginning of this paper; and the necessity of how to interpret what is said. So that while the aim in the classroom instructions is a complete decontextualized message, additional help is given by the collaboration of the hearer in the act of interpretation. It is by these listening cues and instructions that the teacher both recognises and helps the children to relate their everyday experience of language to the experience being prepared for in the classroom.

Children's Practices of Instruction-Giving

From these examples we can begin to see that in the actual classroom the specific problem of discourse form pulls apart from the ways of accomplishing the communicative task--so that for children it is quite possible to accomplish the task without being able to produce the correct discourse form. In the following example a first-grader helps another with a math problem. The problem is confounded by the graphic organization of the textbook which becomes for the children an intrinsic part of the problem.

Aide to Ben: "Can you help Connie with this page?" Ben looks, thinks for a while, then says:



Ben to Connie: Um, how you make two?

Connie: Oh I see you put this here.

Ben to Connie: Yep.

Ben begins on his solution to Connie's problem and his teaching by providing a recapping of the problem. However, as a discourse solution to the request to help Connie he does not make any of the moves a teacher might have done to set up an instructional situation or to find out what Connie already knows. When children do peer teaching their very success may rely upon not being under the same discourse contraints that teachers have, either to present the 'best order' of information or to provide an example of "good" instruction giving. As we showed in the instruction-giving experiments children move to whatever communicative choices that achieves effectiveness and as Cazden et al. (1978) have shown in classroom studies the children's need in peer teaching to maintain the social relationship over the taught peer-pupils requires them to switch their teacher strategies and to appear to move in and out of the "teacher role". While not being aware of the discourse constraints of adults within the teaching situation children are often able to chunk information in ways that provided more directly useful information to the pupil as in the example with Ben. Where children also attempt to try to be 'grown-up' and to improve on their communication performance as in the example of a fourth grader at several trials instructing different first-graders, the very attempt to improve the instructions, the discourse form, gets in the way of her achieving the goal she seeks.

Conclusion

The socio-communicative problem for children lies in making the discourse form match the recognized communicative task. Our experiments have shown that children can recognize and manage the communicative task of situated instruction giving but cannot, for example, manage experimental situations where some of their essential communicative channels are missing as in the one-way screen

experiments. In everyday usage, verbalizations do not have to attempt to fit to the possible and most effective action sequence through the order of presentation of information (as in diagrammatic instructions) or through the use of syntactic-semantic devices which give priority ordering to the information as in prose instructions. The action sequence and the situated prosodic cues are the determiners of the verbalization; how much specificity is given and in what order, depends on what actions are visible on the part of the person who is being instructed. Instruction-giving as a feedback interactional situation would be expected to have a different linguistic realization from a situation guided by written instructions. We have shown that the maxims for instructions are particularly sensitive to the requirements of communication where verbal message does not rely on any background knowledge and presents a model of 'decontextualized' language. Such ideals of good instructions are perhaps especially influenced by the literate/written language bias of our own modern technological society (Goody 1977). Adults, both as teachers and educational administrators from their position in a literate and written communication dominated culture, often assume the standards for ideally clear and satisfactory instruction that are not realizable in practice. Their perceived need is for children to be able to use decontextualized language is part of an adult-centered discourse model that governs much of educational thinking. However, children grow up into the early stages of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence in an orally-biased culture (Cook-Gumperz 1975, Halliday 1976), and their entry into school and into formal literacy training requires a very big change of communicative strategies for the young child, perhaps a much greater one than much of the evaluation of the classroom as a learning environment often provides for.

Given this reasoning children are not faulted performers nor inadequate communicators but they are governed more completely than adults by the situated performance criteria of communication. They have not yet learned to foreground the verbalized-semantic channel and to relegate other forms of communication to the position of background signals. Within certain specialized contexts the requirements of the communication task and the adult notions of correct or adequate discourse form are often at odds, and provide discrepant signals for the not yet fully experienced communicator. The overt demands of teaching of

an 'oral and written literacy' within the formal classroom context provide one such experience.

It is for these reasons that instructional talk plays a very important role within the classroom communicative contexts as a training ground for literacy through 'oral' means and as a preparation for adult's ideals of 'clear, information specific' talk. While within the classroom, teacher's practices move between these two communicative positions but in ways that show that they are often not quite aware of the underlying reasons for their long-established "teaching routines". They are likely in response to questioning (Cook-Gumperz 1978) to give responses about behavioral criteria (paying attention, not wasting time) when as we have tried to show in this paper an analysis of the underlying assumptions shows that teachers have a goal of appropriate discourse forms for differing tasks. As our findings in the classroom so far indicate, teachers operate within a double standard both of the need within the classroom to shape their communicative expectations to the adult (ideal) standard; and at the same time trading and relying upon the situated understanding of students. Our analysis of the role of listening as it provides a "formulated gloss" for the negotiated features of many classroom interactions and instructions gives us some evidence of this communicative "double bind".

It is only if we unpack the complex of communicative assumptions and discourse goals that influence everyday routines and practices within the classroom, that we can begin to see the very complex nature of the skills and pressures that make up successful and effective teaching, and the nature of the discrepancy with which we began--between the skills expected of the child in formal educational settings and those brought from home.

FOOTNOTES

1. Children's school textbooks are similarly organized in ways such that the graphic organization provides part of the learning experience, but subsuming details under headings--directing problem-solving strategies, etc.

2. Diagrammatic instructions and bureaucratic directions for form-filling are addressing the same problems as linguistic pragmatics of how to evaluate the communicative intent and effect of the semantic structures of everyday speech. Effective designers and drafters of instructions attempt to get inside the semantic framework of instructions and judge their relationship to an effective course of action. They take the instructions to represent an algorithm for problem-solving strategies and for the storage of information about everyday life action-sequences (Lewis and Edwards 1968). Such everyday instructions are far from the prose of high level bureaucratic writing such as the drafting of legislation (the literary versus literacy). What is interesting from our point of view is the relationship between the organization of the semantic structures and the action sequence that they are required to guide. Instructions differ from much other prose or written language, in that they do have this direct pragmatic intent.

3. One way to recognize blind persons from others in transcribed accounts is the amount of verbal scene setting and additional comments that blind persons give to accounts of everyday actions. Seeing people take for granted features of the scene and in retelling a past event are not likely to mention or even to be able to recall "background' information. Such information about the scene is not backgrounded for blinded persons and has to enter into pragmatic judgements about activities in everyday settings.

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SENSE OF STORY: INFLUENCES ON CHILDREN"S STORYTELLING ABILITY

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Embedded within the emergent work on narratives is work on children's acquisition and development of knowledge of stories and narratives. Contributions to this area have come from both experimental work and work on oral storytelling. This work has provided information about children's ability to remember and reproduce story sequences correctly, children's recognition of story structure, as well as the structure of children's spontaneously generated narrative anecdotes. In general, these studies have focused on 1) how children's narratives compare structurally with well-formed stories 2) how children's performance at different ages differs from adequate performance in terms of an a priori model of what constitutes a well-formed story structurally, and 3) what children's evaluations of violations of the well-formed story model suggest about their cognitive knowledge or concept of story.

While this work suggests what children's narratives will look like under certain conditions, it does not explain how children acquire a "sense of story"; that is, a concept of story, as well as the ability to produce stories and other forms of narratives. This issue will be explained in this paper; specifically, we will discuss some of the influences on children's acquisition and development of sense of story. The intent of this discussion is to suggest some factors that have not been considered previously and to raise questions for further study.

Before proceeding to the discussion of influences on children's sense of story, we will overview past work to provide the historical context for the issues we wish to discuss. Two types of past research will be overviewed -- experimental studies of story forms in children and studies of oral storytelling.

Experimental Study of Story Forms in Children

Experimental work on stories has focused mainly on two areas: 1) the ability of children to remember and reproduce a story sequence correctly, and 2) children's recognition of story structures as shown in their ability to evaluate good and poor story forms (Applebee, 1976). In both types of studies, children are presented with well-formed stories and with those that violate this structure. A well-formed story is defined in these studies as one that has a canonical form; that is one in which the structure and syntactic realization contain a beginning, an initiating sequence, a sense of consequential actions and a conclusion. The purpose of these studies is to determine the underlying models of story held by children; therefore, the researchers violate the story structures

in specific ways to explore how this disruption affects recall and/or comprehension.

The studies in area 1 focus on the effect of such violations on children's ability to reproduce and remember stories. Findings from work on story recall tasks (Mandler & Knight, 1979) and on story-sequencing tasks (McClure, Mason & Barratz, 1978) show that the ability to recall a story accurately varies according to the structure of the story. Differences in performance are due to the degree to which a story follows the normal (canonical) form; that is, when violations in structure and syntactic realization occur, recall and comprehension are disrupted.

For example, in exploring developmental differences in story comprehension, McClure, Mason, and Barratz (1978) found that from grade three to six to nine, there was a difference in children's abilities to order stories (story cards) which varied with the degree to which the story departed from the normal (canonical) form. At grade 3, only the normal form was recognized. Any stylistic realizations of different stories were reordered so as to follow the normal form. The children were found to provide a beginning and a cohesion, even when these were at odds with the verb tense and pronominal cohesion of the sentences of the task. The reordering phenomenon is taken as an indication of the cognitive model of stories children hold.

The tasks used in these studies tend to be highly constrained tasks for children. The tasks have an a priori underlying mode or story logic against which children's performance is judged. Work in area 2, children's recognition of story structures as shown in their ability to evaluate good and poor stories (Applebee, 1976), also uses a constrained task. However, the underlying mode or story logic in this task is less elaborate than that proposed by the research based on story grammar. This work also supports the finding that children need to have certain structural components in stories in order for them to see the story as adequate. Applebee (1976) found that children's ability to recognize story structures and to evaluate them when presented with completed stories that were read to them depended on the presence (or absence) of "proper" introductory and concluding sequences.

The work in these two areas suggests that children have cognitive models for what a story structure should include and that under certain conditions these models are consistent with the normal or canonical story form. Experimental work, however, is only one form of research concerned with children's knowledge of story.

Research on oral storytelling is also concerned with the structure of story narratives. However, what constitutes "story" differs in this research, as does the way in which story knowledge is elicited. In experimental work, children do not have to make any active storytelling contributions; that is, their task is to evaluate, reproduce, recall or sequence stories presented to them. Experimental work, therefore, assesses children's comprehension, not children's spontaneous ability to produce or contribute to narratives. In oral storytelling, children are active producers or contributors to narratives. In the next section, we will explore past work on oral storytelling. This work, while concerned with structure of freely elicited narratives by children and teenagers.

Study of Oral Storytelling in Children

Much of the research on oral storytelling is a development of earlier research of Labov and Waletsky (1970) with teenagers. These researchers and researchers such as Kernan & Kernan (1977) are concerned with the spoken story. In working with children's freely elicited narrative anecdotes, Labov & Waletsky (1970) suggested that the spoken story has the following structures -- an abstract, an introductory sequence, a complicating action, evolution and resolution or coda. Each segment, if present, must come in this order for an adequate story to be told and must be represented by at least one clause in the three core segments.

A modification of this model for the spoken anecdote was proposed by Polanyi (1977, 1978). She suggested that the spoken story form consists in its essential as an introduction sequence, a series of action statements, building to a point, and a conclusion. Put as a visual metaphor, the spoken story is a wave model with a crescendoing sequence of actions that build to a point or crest then subside into a concluding coda which can also act as an evaluation. The key, however, is that all spoken stories must build to a point.

Kernan & Kernan (1977) have explored a model similar to one derived by Labov. They collected narratives from children from seven to thirteen years of age and found a similar ordering of forms and structures. Their work also substantiates Polanyi's suggestion that stories build to a point.

More recently, work by Michaels & Cook-Gumperz (1978) also shows that spoken stories rise to a point. These researchers explored children's story anecdotes told in classrooms during newstime (also called sharing time). They found that children developmentally acquire the ability to construct an oral story that rises to a single, and sometimes elaborated point.

Summary of Children's Storytelling and Narrative Abilities

The studies reviewed above represent work on the structure of children's storytelling and narrative abilities from two different perspectives. The review suggests that we can divide the general term narrative or storytelling ability into two components: the passive or comprehension ability and the active or performance ability. The passive or comprehension ability includes recognition of story structures and the ordering or sequencing of stories when provided with existing verbal story material (characters, plots or sequences) on story cards.

This focus has been a dominant influence in the research on narratives. Such work does not recognize that for children an essential part of the storytelling process is the interactive relationship between teller and audience; that is, that storytelling is an active or performance ability in addition to a comprehension or recall ability. As a performance ability, children create a story for a person or group of persons as audience with a minimum of verbal stimuli. This work, therefore, provides information about only one type of narrative ability in a very constrained manner.

The oral storytelling tradition does not suffer from the same constraints. While past work has focused on the structure of adequate spoken stories, the researchers working in this area recognize the interactive nature of storytelling and narrative construction. This work, then, is a beginning point in understanding the acquisition and development of narrative ability and sense of story by children. In the remainder of this paper, we will explore narrative acquisition and development as an interactive process. To do this, we will explore research on influences on narrative acquisition and development and present and discuss data that illustrates this view.

Toward an Interactive Model of Narrative Knowledge in Children

Recent work in storytelling suggests that for children an essential part of the storytelling process must be an interactive relationship between the teller and the audience (Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, (1978) Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, (1975; 1977). This relationship is also true of instances of reading stories to children (Green, 1977; Green & Harker, in press), and of teaching reading to children (Cazden, 197 ; McDermott, 197 ; Bloome, 1981).

For example, anthropological work on story reading in a folk genre, particularly that by Watson-Grego & Boggs (1975; 1977) has shown the important part

that audience reaction plays in helping to structure the story. Similarly, recent research on children's classroom performances has shown how essential the teacher's contribution can be in helping a child structure a story event (Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1978) and how the way in which the teacher structures interactions between teacher and children can affect students' story recall and retelling performance (Green, 1977; Green & Harker, in press).

Work on narratives from an interactive perspective is related to the growing research field of teaching-learning as a communicative process.* This work has shown that interaction between teacher and children is an essential part of the learning process; that children learn to extract instructional and social demands and expectations for behavior from the on-going interactions in classrooms; and that factors such as communicative competence, cultural background, experiential background, and ability to "read" contextualization cues influence children's participation and performance in classroom activities.

Such research when combined with the work on oral storytelling suggests that when we explore both children's understanding of concept of story, as well as their productions of stories, we need to consider the multiple sources of influence on children's acquisition of a "sense of story". Such influences might be more various than the influences of other well-told stories as suggested; that is, well-formed stories told to children and read by children are but one source of information about narratives and one type of influence on narratives from participating in on-going interactions which include instances of spoken stories and from participating in construction of narratives as part of on-going events in the environment.

The interactive model differs from those presented previously in several ways. First, children are not assumed to move linearly from an oral model whose form matches the literate or adult form directly to the adult or more literate written model. Rather, the process is seen as more complex with a variety of paths possible to reach the goal of a literate model. Second, no one model is assumed to exist for all narratives on an a priori basis. Rather, the narrative performances of children must be explored for patterns indicative of the child's own model of narratives. Third, the process of acquisition of narrative ability is not viewed as similar and assured for all children.

These differences suggest that the question of how children acquire and develop narrative ability is still open to question. Specifically, questions about what contributes to children's development of their own "model of narratives"

*For representative work in this area see Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972; Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1976; Dowling, 1977; Green, 1977; 1979; Green & Wallat, 1981; Mehan, 1976; 1979; Wilkinson, 1981.

are still to be explored, as are questions about the actual sources of influences on narrative acquisition and development. We would now like to consider these questions. Focus for the discussion will be the identification of potential sources of influence.

Some Potential Sources of Influence on Narrative Acquisition

In exploring the forms of storytelling, we have noticed different potential sources of influence on children's narratives. This investigation leads us to think that there is not just one "narrative function" but that narratives are seen by children to be fulfilling several communicative tasks.

Paralinguistic Influences

Initially, our assumption is that "telling a story', that is engaging in story performances, differed from the accomplishment of a written story. In the course of our investigation, we found that the task was even more complex. We found that oral narratives are not directly transcribable to written form.

This finding parallels work by J. Goody (1979). Goody suggests that one adult assumption about the structure or schema of a narrative rests primarily on the notion of a written story or the transcription of folk tales. He points out that "oral literature cannot be reduced to written without a loss". For example, in a study of Pomo Indian narrative, McClendon found that the use of direct quotations in correct voice character is an essential part of the storytelling and any synopsis or written version would lose this character of the actual performance. Based on this, she suggests that the model of narrative needs to include a notion of speaking or storytelling.

A similar point was made by Watson-Gegeo & Boggs (1975; 1977) in their studies of children's acquisition and use of a specific Hawaiian folk narrative form, "talk story". They showed that in this genre, the story structure necessarily includes the interaction between the storyteller and the audience. The storyteller begins a theme but constructs the story around the contribution of others. The audience participates while the teller remains thematically in control of the direction the story takes.

These studies suggest the existence of a folk narrative model that closes the gap between spoken stories and formal narratives by producing a structure which interactively incorporates facets of story organization that are developed or introduced by specific semantic-syntactic devices in written stories (Polanyi, 1977).

This model suggests that paralinguistic dimensions of interaction need to be incorporated in a model of acquisition and development of narratives, as do dimensions of oral storytelling organization. These influences are important when we consider influences on young children's acquisition of sense of story or narrative form. In Western culture, however, there are additional influences derived from the extensive exposure children have to written-literate sources as well as to spoken oral experiences.

Written-Literate Influences

We expect very young children in the process of acquisition of story form must learn the arts of oral storytelling. With the amount of experience young children have with literate material in addition to and in conjunction with spoken material, they may also develop concepts of narrative which contain a combination of elements. This notion will now be explored.

In a recent storytelling experience, a three-year old was asked by a researcher if he could tell a story. He replied, "Like tell a book?" She agreed that he could tell a story he knew from a book, so he told the following story.

Alright/I think the truck book I have/new truck book/

(loud, declamatory voice)

Uh.....The dump truck has miles of...of...of...rocks/

(voice trailing off)

Wheels/even on fields are...are...like that/like that...
like soft...like that

(voice rushing)

And then/in front it ride upstairs of the...of the...double
bus

(sing-song voice)

and downstairs/fountain/ride downstairs and upstairs of the
double-decker bus/It's fun to...to...to look at trucks/The
end/

At first sight this "story" lacks the necessary structure or cohesion to make it a proper story. On analysis, the story does include the three essential elements of a "proper" story, a beginning, a piece of actions, and an end. However, the beginning is only marked prosodically by loudness and pitch. In

this style of verbal attack, the actions seem disjointed, and the end is both announced and seems to have a summing up which is prosodically marked by a special interaction, "It's fun to look at trucks" (said in a sing-song voice). The biggest problem with this story is the disjointed nature of this action sequence, which is not a sequential or consequential unfolding of any action.

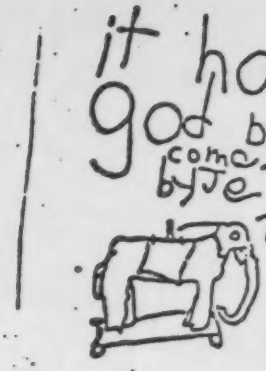
However, when we went back to the child's original query -- "Like tell a book?" and then looked at the first part of his "story", we saw that the child was using a literate (book) frame. When we considered the types of books available for children of this age, we found that there is a perticular genre of children's book that conforms to this "mode of narrative" which is represented by the illustrated books by Richard Scarry. In these books, the elements of the story are not potentially consequential; there is a theme in the written text but the picture can be used to tell independent stories which need not be part of the main text. Perhaps, what this child may "see" or rather have a mental image of the book as a frame for story, he does not have a complete sense of audience and how to communicate his "image" of story.

The problem with this type of narrative is that the child has not made the image overt. Indeed, "telling a book" rather than telling a story per se may occur if young children see books of all kinds as synonomous with stories. If we had been able to determine the structure of the child's truck book, we would not need to be so tentative.

This analysis suggests that young children may have a model of story that includes what a book is and how it is organized. In such a model, young children might see pictorial aspects of books as part of the story and use this notion as a frame when "telling a book". This notion will be discussed further in relationship to children's early written work.

This work suggests that future research must consider the frames young children bring to the task and the types of experiences with oral and literate material they have had, if we are to understand and interpret children's sense of story in the early years. This example indicates that the way in which pictorial and verbal elements combine in the story suggests that there is a special influence of the form of books on the presentation of stories by young children; that is, young children may combine both elements to produce meaning when they "tell a book".

While the <u>influence of graphic form</u> has become a part of research and analysis of instructional material (DeFord, 1980), it has also been found to have a special meaning in children's early written work (Cook-Gumperz, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Deford, 1980). Consider the following example:

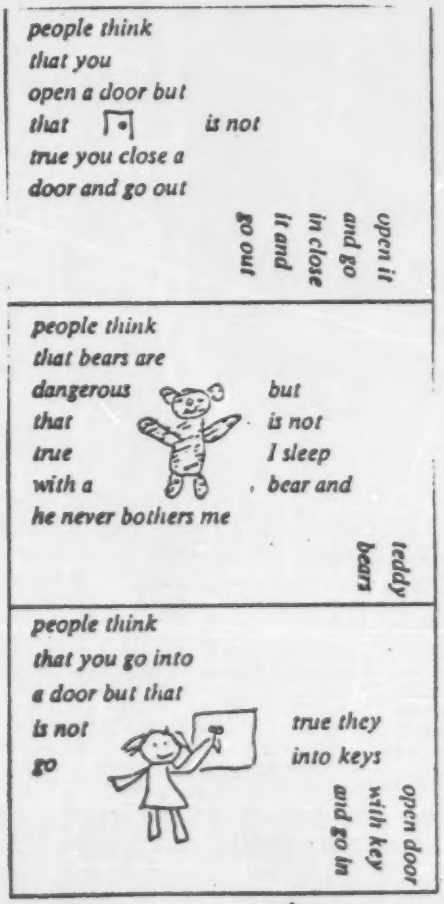


.....tion. In Figure 1, for example, the whole message is contained in both the picture and the words, including the size of the typography.

(Cook-Gumperz 1975, p. 62)

In this example, the size of the lettering and its placement on the page, as well as the diectic referencing in relation to the following drawing, provide both a syntax and a graphic form at one and the same time. Together these elements produce a single message, icon.

In a recent study of children's discourse, Ervin-Tripp (1977) reports similar findings. She suggests that children's early written work can show such an interrelationship of graphic and syntactic forms included in a single semantic message. The graphic-syntactic interrelationship can be seen in the following example of emblematic poems from a seven year old's own notebook.



(Ervin-Tripp, 1977, p.8)

Ervin-Tripp suggests that:

> The content is a dialectic: an assertion of an opinion and its contrary, and finally, an explanation of the paradox or a synthesis in which both are true. The synthesis is heard as a second voice, which is visually set off at the side like another person conversing. Poets report that emblem poems are popular with children. These are poems visually emulating the theme. While this child knew no emblem poems, she invented an emblem of dialogue...The child continued to create these poems until the semantic structure deteriorated.

What do these emblematic written forms and the "tell a book" form have to tell us about children's conception of storytelling? As we have suggested, the canonical adult forms of narrative structures, both oral and written, are based (to a large extent) on written or literate form of stories. In contrast, children's oral performance of stories often seem closer in many stylistic functions to the "folk" or "oral" model where performance details add to or change meanings of utterances than they do to a formal, literate model.

As suggested in the examples above, performance details are not the only mediating factor; children's concepts about books and their structure may be part of the meaning of young children's stories. If this is true, then more is involved in the acquisition and development of narrative than simply learning to transcribe oral language into written form. What may exist is an emblematic phase; that is, one in which the knowledge of written or book format influence the oral production of story narratives. Therefore, if as we suggest, children developmentally move through a phase which we will call the emblematic phase of developing their own notions of story, then children's acquisition of narrative may not be a direct process of acquiring the adult canonical form (as espoused, for example, in story grammars). It may be a more complicated process where children generate for themselves different genre of narratives from the various influences of both forms of speaking and forms of written-graphic expression.

What we are suggesting, therefore, is that the spoken story is not a version of the written, nor a revision, but that children do see the elements of expression available to them -- e.g., graphic forms, pictorial elements, character -plot elements, syntactic style, and idiomatic expressions, as being suitable for contributions to stories. The weight given to these elements in the process of acquisition will depend on the discourse tradition and experiences of children within their own familial/community context. It is these different uses and perceptions of story that we propose to examine in future experimental work. This work would involve asking children to give a

performance; that is, to create stories encouraged by different kinds of stimuli and support. In addition, we plan to explore statisically the relationship of narrative skill/ability to other forms of verbal and communicative ability in order to give some answers to the questions of the sources of influence on children's narrative ability, ability in school and the relationship of this ability to children's future progress in school defined literacy tasks.

Analysis of Concept of Story: An alternative Approach

Before concluding this argument, we would like to explore one last example of a story told by a kindergarten child. This example provides evidence of the complexity of children's concepts of narrative form and the influence of the emblematic phase. This example was first analyzed using Applebee's (1976) categorization scheme. Applebee distinguishes between a "true narrative" which has a verbally explicit connective thread or coherence and other less adequate forms -- a chaining level. He suggests that the simplest level of organization is the sequence or chain. In this form of organization, there is a main character, but the events appear to have very little connection with each other. Sean's story is an example which may be viewed as using Applebee's sequence level of organization.

Sean's Story

1 once I went to the zoo
2 I saw the elephants
3 and I rode streetcars
4 and I rode a horsie
5 then I went to my grandmother's house
6 and I went home
7 then I have a ABC book
8 and I looked at the tigers and the lions
9 and I looked at a snake
10 then I went home again
11 and I had an ABCDEFG all the way up to Z calendar
12 then I looked at the rain
13 then four monsters and i runned
14 I went back home
15 then I went to D'Ante's house
16 five monsters looked at D'Ante too
17 and I had smoke to scare the monsters
18 and D'Ante went back to his house
19 and I watched TV
20 I saw Sesame Street
21 then I saw Batman too
22 I had a ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ all that poster
23 then I had to throw bad guys
24 and then I worked at my Batman puzzle

25 then I went to bed
26 then I got up
27 then I had to go somewhere
28 I went to Bugs Bunny Follies
29 the end

Within this story, there are groups of related events, but the story as a whole seems to have the characteristic of a list of factual and fantastic events; on the surface level, little cohesion is apparent between the events.

The question that must be raised in light of our previous discussion is, does this reflect the child's model of narrative or are these influences outside of the formal narrative model that need to be considered -- e.g., the frame for story the child has, what story means to a child. The Applebee categorization assumes that the main purpose of narrative is a sequential presentation of events such that the connection between one or more of the events is evident within the story. Such a model of narrative is fundamental to most work with narratives (e.g., story grammars) as indicated previously. This work is based on the assumption that all stories have a basically linearly progressive character which leads from a defined beginning through some purposeful actions to a conclusion.

However, after considering the varied nature of the narrative task in view of the differential influences on storytelling, and how, in fact, children may be developing their own perceptions and notions of genre of story telling, we decided to re-examine this narrative contribution by Sean. We felt that this story was more complex than Applebee's categorization suggested.

Previously we suggested that a young child might equate telling a story with telling a book, that children's early story efforts often have an emblematic character to them, and that children's past experience both oral-spoken and written-literate provide a frame for a storytelling task. Using these arguments as guides, we would like to propose a different interpretation of Sean's story, one that suggests that Sean is working with a model derived from both spoken and written experiences and one that is more sophisticated than the Applebee categorization suggests.

We do not want to suggest that Sean is telling a specific book, although he may be, but that he has abstracted a model of story that includes a notion of this genre of book and that the model he is using in this instance reflects aspects of both written and oral stories. In essence, we are suggesting that Sean is using an emblematic model as a frame for this story.

To make this argument, we must first assume that Sean has had exposure to one of Scarry's books or books of similar organization and that from such

exposure and exposure to oral storytelling, Sean has developed a model of story or narratives that contains elements of both of these narrative forms. With these assumptions specified, we can now proceed with a discussion of our analysis.

When we looked at the seemingly loosely-linked set of events in Sean's story we found that there was a definite beginning, "Once I went to the zoo" and a definite conclusion, "the end". What occurs between this introduction and conclusion appears to be a loosely-tied series of actions, perhaps based on personal experience. However, closer inspection indicated recurrent patterns, an ABC line and a "went home" line. When we segmented the story according to the "went home" line, we found that the story began to segment into a series of stanzas. The stanza segmentations is presented in Table 1. (See Table 1)

The stanza format is not solely arbitrary. If we assume that Sean had exposure to Scarry-type books, then the stanza format is applicable. Many of Scarry's books are organized in stanza format; that is one or more pages have a theme (e.g., zoo, alphabet, foods), a series of pictures spaced at various points on the page, stanzas that are both pictures spaced at various points on the page, stanzas that are both loosely tied to the pictures, and sometimes a character that engages in actions with others across the page. In addition, some pages with common themes face each other. The themes cover a limited number of pages and not the entire book; therefore, a book can be said to be composed of a series of sub-themes, some related so as to form chapters and some only loosely related. One other characteristic needs mentioning; on a page with a series of stanzas, one or more stanzas may begin with "then" (Scarry, 1967; 1967). The Scarry books are not the only ones with this format, however; classic nursery rhymes also use a stanza format. Therefore, there appears to be an interface between two genre of children's literature forms and a stanza oriented analysis.

The segmented story was explored for recurrent patterns in theme and structure, as indicated in Table 1. Once this information was obtained, we then searched for indications of possible influences on Sean's performance. We found that these influences could be local ones, one directly stated in the text, or more distal ones (Fenstemacher, 1980), ones part of the broader context for this story (e.g., past experiences, concepts of stories, books, what you do during the day, etc.). This latter group must be inferred from the data included in the story or from the actual performance. In this instance, we depended mainly on the text. Past research also provides a basis for the analysis. In this instance, we depended mainly on the text. Past research also provides a basis for the analysis. In this instance, the idea that children sometimes

equate telling a story with "telling a book" was considered. Which of the influences or combinations of influences actually were used by the child or existed as part of the child's frame and concept of story cannot be specified. What we have done is listed some of the potential sources of influence, those that were triggered by either the structural aspect of the text or the thematic factors.

As we suggested, Sean's story is more complex than the Applebee categorization would first suggest. When we explored the stanza structure for the function of each line of the stanza, we found that five of the seven stanzas contained an introduction, a sequence of actions and a conclusion. Therefore, there is internal structure within five of the seven stanzas. On a global level, the story also has cohesion. It has an opening sequence, "once I went to the zoo", a series of events around a main character (with a second character introduced part way through); and a closing event, "Then I got up...I went to Bugs Bunny Follies". The story structure, therefore is a repeated set of stanza happening to two characters -- a true picaresque, if not a true narrative in the literal sense of the term. (For an example of an adult picaresque see Don Quixote)

The structure is only one factor contributing to the complexity of Sean's story. A closer analysis of the themes showed the existence of major and minor themes; these themes contribute to the cohesion of the events in the story. The recurrent themes are presented in Table 1. A major theme is defined as one that occurs in more than two stanzas. Using this definition, we found four major themes. Two relate to introductory actions, "go somewhere" and "Alphabet"; one relates to the action sequence of the stanza structure, "look at" and one to the concluding aspect of stanzas, "go home". The minor themes relate to objects of the "look at" actions -- monsters, Batman and going to sleep/getting up. The two types of themes demonstrate the cohesion and how cohesion is built within and across the stanzas. The existence or recurrence of major themes suggests that this story is not a simple chaining.

If we explore how these themes might be placed in a textbook, we see that some of the stanzas seem to stand alone, Stanza I: "Once I went to the zoo". This stanza might form a single page of a book. The next stanza is linked to the first by the frame, "then", (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) and also introduces the book form, ABC book. This can also stand alone. Stanza III, expands the ABC theme to be "ABCDEFG all the way up to Z" calendar. This stanza and the next appear to be linked by both the frame, "then", and the minor theme "monsters". An interesting thing happens in the fourth stanza; the main

character goes to D'Ante's house, but somewhere in the middle of this paragraph there is a shift in where the characters are that is not specified as indicated by the fact that D'Ante and not the main character returns home. The next stanza (V) extends what the main character did when D'Ante left. These stanzas could be seen as forming, perhaps, two facing pages, as can the last two stanzas. The sixth stanza also uses an expanded ABC theme, ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ all that poster. In this set of stanzas, a minor theme is going to bed and getting up.

This analysis suggests that books, personal experience, objects that use alphabet as a theme, imagination (fantasy), and factors such as television are all potential sources of influence. Thier existence in this type of narrative also suggests that they are part of children's concept of what a story can be about. Syntactic factors such as the use of "then" frames to introduce and conclude segments of stories suggest a more advanced knowledge of text structure than story grammars would suggest. Finally the use of a series of stanzas or linked completed events suggest that children's concept of story includes a visual component of what a story might look like in the book.

Conclusion

We have presented some initial findings that suggest that past conceptualizations of the study of narrative acquisition and development have been too constrained; that is, the information they provide gives us information about only one type of narrative, well-formed stories, and that this approach may underestimate the actual knowledge of children. We also suggested that children may go through an emblematic phase of narrative development. In this phase, children have models of narrative that include aspects of both spoken-oral and written-literate models. Acquisition, then, does not move linearly from oral to written-literate rather, the process is more complex.

Our analysis suggests that we must consider not only the transcribed or written story, but also the performance aspects of narrative construction and the concepts children have about story, e.g., telling a book. Therefore, in view of these discoveries about the varied nature of children's images and uses of narrative form, as well as the influence of written materials, we must, in future research, explore children's own perceptions of narrative in a more open way, a way that begins with the view of the child as constructor of reality.

Table
Analysis: Sean's Story

Stanza		Story Line	Function	Repeated Themes	Potential Sources Influence
I	1	Once I went to the zoo	Introduction		Book on zoo (e.g., Scarry)
	2	I saw the elephants	Action	Look at animals	Personal experience with zoo
	3	and I rode street cars	Action	ride	Themes introduced: go somewhere
	4	and I rode a horsie	Action Sequence	ride	look at
	5	then I went to my grandmother's house	Action	Go somewhere	go home
	6	and I went home	Conclusion	Go home	
II	7	Then I had a ABC book	Introduction		Book on ABC's
	8	and I looked at the tigers and lions	Action	look at animals	Alphabet thing (book)
	9	and I looked at a snake	Action Sequence	look at animals	Previous theme: look at
	10	then I went home again	Conclusion	Alphabet, Go home	go home
III	11	And I had an ABCDEFG all the way up to Z	Introduction		Alphabet thing (calendar)
	12	then I looked at the rain /calendar	Action	look at rain	Fantasy (imagination)
	13	the four monsters and I runned	Action Sequence	look at (implied) monsters	Monsters
	14	I went back home	Conclusion	Alphabet, Go home	Previous themes: look at alphabet
					go home
IV	15	Then I went to D'Ante's house	Introduction		Fantasy (imagination)
	16	Five monsters looked at D'Ante too	Action	look at D'Ante/monsters	Monsters
	17	and I had smoke to scare the monsters	Action Sequence	monsters, Go somewhere	Previous themes: look at
	18	and D'Ante went back to his house	Conclusion	Alphabet, Go home (D'Ante)	monsters
					go home
					go somewhere
V	19	and I watched TV	Action	watch TV	Television
	20	I saw Sesame St.	Action Sequence	watch TV, Sesame St.	Personal experience with TV
	21	then I saw Batman, too	Action	Watch TV, Batman	Previous themes: look at
VI	22	I had an ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ all that	Introduction		Alphabet thing (poster)
	23	then I had to throw bad guys /poster	Action		Fantasy (imagination)
	24	and then I worked at my batman puzzle	Action Sequence	bad guys, Batman	bad guys
	25	then I went to bed	Conclusion	Sleep, Go somewhere, Alphabet	Personal experience - games
				Awake	Previous themes: Batman, Alphabet
VII	26	then I got up	Action		Go somewhere
	27	then I had to go somewhere	.....	Go somewhere	
	28	I went to Bugs Bunny Follies	Action	Go somewhere	
	29	The end	CONCLUSION to Story		

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REPORT ON THE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE STUDY

Jenny Cook-Gumperz and Lyn Worsley

The work presented in this report grew out of the observations in two other studies 1) the study of oral narratives reported in Michaels and Cook Gumperz, Michaels a & b, Cook-Gumperz and Green 2) the work on the relationship between spoken language ability and reading performance reported on in Simons and Murphy. Our central concern was to explore the possibility that there is a relationship between the ability to recognize and produce a well-formed story and the development of reading skills.

Our general prediction was that what we shall call oral narrative ability (that is the telling of a story) would be somewhat differentially distributed through the population of children than the ability to read, as measured by reading and metalinguistic tests. However, our second prediction was that the differential ability to produce a "standard story structure", with such linguistic phenomenon as intersentential cohesive devices and formulaic elements of story structuring would be highly related <u>across time</u> with children's continued or improved reading success.

The reasoning behind these two predictions, that might appear at first glance as contradictory, was that the ability to produce oral narrative is strongly influenced by home and other out-of-school cultural experience. To be a good story teller is for some people a highly valued skill, and styles of story-telling are culturally variant. The ability to tell and to recognize a standard story form with a beginning, a middle with an elaboration of action and a marked ending may be different from some children's style. However, this story-form is experienced in school both orally and in its simplest form in written texts. If such a form can be recognized in reading texts then the reader has a context-framing device for passage reading and comprehension which reduces the linguistic uncertainty offered by the text. If the story line and its thematic development are recognizable to the reader then the reader is more likely to be able to reduce the discourse semantic choice points and to predict the next possible element in the story.

In order to explore these hypothesis we developed some narrative tasks which we expected would elicit a range of oral narrative responses from the 1rst grade children. We presented them with a relaxed, experimental setting with narrative picture cards and a single picture and asked them to tell a story to the researcher. The following examples of the two story forms show the different narrative abilities that were demonstrated in this task using the two different pictorial stimuli.

Description and Discussion of the Two Tasks

The first task, placing the five pictures in order and then telling the story they indicated, did not require that the child keep in mind the story line (plot) nor the characters of his/her narrative since the pictures themselves provided those elements. In fact, frequently the children did not bother to describe the main character at all, beginning their narratives simply: "he was walking..." Although all the children were asked to "put these pictures in the right order to tell a story", their interpretations, or at least their responses varied widely. Some children offered only very unadorned descriptions of the set of pictures. [illegible]is an example of such a story: "first he was walking and then he ran to the tree and climbed on it and sit down. The he went up to the tree." Closer to a true narrative is the story which provides underlying motivation for the set of events depicted: [illegible]: "first a boy wanted apple, and the..." This story , however, continues with a plain description of the pictures. Sometimes the children provide links between actions in the story thus adding an element of consequentiality. Story [illegible] has such links, and also includes descriptive details such as: "the dog's black and there's green grass" but these details are listed rather than incorporated into the story line.

A few of the children told a true narrative complete with formulaic opening, introduction of character, and motivational details:

[illegible]: "once there was this boy and he was walking along the sidewalk and he saw this tree but there was a wall around it and so started running and he climbed up and then started to run to the wall and he climbed over the wall and then he was and then he started sitting down. He sat down on the wall for a little while and the dog came. And a dog came and tried to climb up the wall and then he started to eat an apple."

Since it was possible to order the set of pictures in various ways, the same plot and characters were not always provided. Story [illegible] introduces a twin brother and has a rather incomprehensible plot because the child who told this story placed the cards in sequence without regard to content. He then attempted to construct a story that would fit the order of pictures, rather than order the pictures by considering what sequences made the most sense.

L: Okay.
D6: I guess these are mixed up.
L: Do you want to change them around?
D6: I'll change this one...right here, and this one right here.
L: Okay, now tell it to me.

D6: T'see. He was running to get that apple cause it was fittin to fall. So he got it instead, got--got another one instead cause that--cause he p--he pushed that one back up. Then he--then th- he sit down then the dog start lookin up then he w--walked and then he climbed over the fence and get it. And another w--and th--and another boy came, his twin brother came then he--then his twin brother was gonna get him a apple.
L: Mhm. Okay. So that's--um two five four one three. Great.

The second task consisted of telling a story based on one picture, that of the African woman (included in the appendix). Again, the responses of the children ranged from a simple description to a fully developed narrative. Story B3 contains no formulaic opening nor any information that is not visible in the picture. Even after the interviewer probes: "Is there anything else?" the child adds only one more bit of simple description.

B3: Hmm that's a hard one.
L: It is a hard one.
B3: Is (name) do it to?
L: Mhm.
B3: Hmm. Let me see. Lady's walking and he has somes-- in her basket and she's balance it on her head.
L: Is there anything else?
B3: Um. I don't know. She's walking by the water.
L: Anything else?
B3: No.
L: Okay. Thank you.

Story B8 contains neither formulaic opening nor any information about the main character, introducing her only as she. Again, the story begins as a simple description: "she was carrying..." but then the story teller lets his imagination run free as he lists, in a kind of litany, the contents of the basket: "...apples, plums, grapes, cabbage, greens..." and constructs a reason for the action shown in the picture: "...so she could bring them to her mother so her mother cook all kind of things for her for dinner". However, this story is more a reason for the action than a well-rounded narrative which presupposes a reason for the action.

Story B6, in contrast, begins with a formulaic phrase followed by a description of the main character and the setting. The story teller provides few concrete details but makes evaluative statements instead: "she was really poor" , "they had a really tough life". So, although the story is very sparse, several of the basic narrative elements are given.

Some children had considerable difficulty producing a story from this stimulus. With the interviewer's encouragement, however, they could increase

the length of their stories. Several of these children would continue adding details until they found a closure for their stories. Al "...then later on that night she goes to bed". Probes from the interviewer, though contentless: "is there anything else?" seemed to provide a frame on which the child could hang her/his story. In a recent study of classroom stories Dowley MacNanee (1979) found a similar phenomenon and has suggested that the collaborative work of teacher to produce a story is an essential developmental part of learning strategies. Without any input from the interviewer, two children in the study told fully-developed narratives, complete with formulaic opening, introduction of character, several elements of action, a problem and its resolution and evaluative statements. Story B5 is an example of such a story:

L: Okay. Now, another thing I'd like you to do is I'd like you to make up a story about this person.
B5: Mhm. Mhm, I wonder where this place is...
L: That was an envelope sent to a friend of mine. And the person who sent it thought that it was a nice picture so they put it on the other side. But I just wondered if you could make up a story about that picture.
B5: Once there was a boy named Jimbo, and he lived in...I don't know... where he lived. And he...and he used to carry things on his head back to his house. And, so one day he was walking along the road, fixing to go to the store and he saw this basket. So he took the basket and walked and walked and walked, until he got tired. And so he sat down and forgot all about ...forgot all about goin to the store, and so he just got back up, ran to the store, but it was too late, the store had closed. So when he got back home, his mother was angry and so he had to go to bed without no dinner.

This task was perhaps the most difficult since the children were provided with a character but no sequence of action. They were asked to build a story with its complicating action around a specific character who, perhaps, resembled no one they had met before in stories either heard or read.

Our analysis focused on the use of story schema in the story telling performances, whether the story schema was fully developed and presented adequately sequenced with possible narrative/descriptive embellishments. We coded both stories according to the adequacy and quality of the stories told, and then assigned each story a numerical evaluation ~~report (or coding schema)~~. Our statistical analysis was in two stages; firstly, we correlated the story-narrative variables for the lrst grade children's performances on standardized reading tests, metalinguistic tests and on other discourse tasks. Secondly, we selected nine composite discourse and reading/metalinguistic variables including three variables developed from story narrative tasks in which we performed a cluster analysis by cases. The resulting clusters of children, could then be compared both with the reading group "clusters" formed by the teacher on the basis of the perception of classroom performance, and with the cluster's performances on other discourse/reading tasks.

TABLE I

Correlation with School Reading and Metalinguistic Tests

	Word Recognition I	Word Recognition II	Blends	List
P.N. I	.15	.30	.41	.24
P.N. II	.38	.27	.42	.64
F.N.	.02	.18	.31	-.09

Correlations with School Tests Relating to Discourse

	Passage	Vocabulary	Sentence
P.N. I	.48	.42	.38
P.N. II	.51	.41	.40
F.N.	.40	.27	.34

Correlations with Other Discourse Variables

	Exophoric Index	Connections	Communications Task Accuracy
P.N. I	-.27	.15	.23
P.N. II	-.49	.14	.48
F.N.	-.26	.49	-.08

P.N. I - Picture Narrative Schema I

P.N. II - Picture Narrative Schema II

F.N.- Free Narrative Schema (Africa story)

The results of the correlation analysis (see table 1'.) show us that the story narrative scores have a close relationship with other discourse tasks and yet are differentiated in the narrative skills that they represent. The free narrative which does not provide either element of plot or character has its strongest correlations with discourse variables which relate to the construction and processing of longer strings of text. The picture story tasks relate more strongly to sentence word and phonetic tasks which stress accuracy of perception and precision of expression. It is interesting that the highest correlations are with the re-telling of the picture story when verb recognition of a different story sequence should be made. This second telling has a relationship to the accuracy score on the communication task reported by Simons and Murphy and another high correlation with a word listing task which requires precision. These correlations give support to our hypothesis that there is a productive discourse ability that exists which relates to, but is independent of, reading skills.

Groupings for Reading - 1rst Grade

High +	High	Middle	Low
Jenny (W)	Ahab (W)	Connie (B)	Celena (B)
Jessie (W) (left school)	Eleanor (W)	Christine (B)	Clark (B)
Joel (W)	Laurie (W)	Nori (W)	Darrel (B)
Deena (B)	Daniel (W)	Andrew (B)	Melinda (B)
	Martin (W)	Ndumbe (B)	Merle (B) (left school)
	Carl (W)	Chuck (B)	Sherry (B)
	Francis (W)	Paul (W)	Wally (B)
		Jon (W)	

Students in the 4 Cluster Groups

	Cluster 1	
Francis (H)	Ahab (H)	Andrew (M)
Jenny (H+)	Jon (M)	Deena (H+)
	Cluster 2	
Eleanor (H)	Carl (H)	Paul (M)
Joel (H+)	Daniel (H)	Nori (M)
Laurie (H)		
	Cluster 3	
Celena (L)	Melinda (L)	Darrel (L)
	Clark (L)	
	Cluster 4	
Chuck (M)	Wally (L)	
Ndumbe (M)	Christine (M)	

The Variables Entered into the Cluster Analysis

1. Reading ability at the word level. CTBS word recognition tests at time 1 and 2.
2. Reading at the discourse competence level.
3. Metalinguistic awareness at the phonological level
4. Metalinguistic awareness at the word level - lexical deletion
5. Oral discourse - I
   -
   - Exophoric reference index (See Simons and Murphy for description of variable)
6. Oral discourse - 2
   - Picture narrative schema I (1rst telling)
   - Picture narrative schema II (2nd telling)
7. Oral discourse - 3
   - Picture narrative order of pictures
8 Oral discourse - 4
   - Free narrative story schema (African story)
9. Picture perception and reading group placement

X Z scores on 9 cluster variables for 4 groups

Group	1	2	3	4
1. RDAWD	.365	.285	.276	-.393
2. RDADIS	.285	.268	.195	-.435
3. METAPHON	.111	.237	.271	-.116
4. METAWD	.165	.296	.263	-.527
5. ORDIS I	-.025	-.066	-.070	.062
6. ORDIS II	.494	.009	.115	-.256
7. ORDIS III	.251	.282	.251	-.426
8. ORDIS IV	.317	.089	-.397	-.040
9. TEACHPER	.565	.458	.251	-.330
	N=6	N=8	N=6	N=X4

Rank Orders

RDAWD	1	2	3	4
RDADIS	1	2	3	4
METAPHON	3	2	1	4
METAWD	3	1	2	4
ORDIS I	2	3	4	1
ORDIS II	1	3	2	4
ORDIS III	2	1	2	3
ORDIS IV	1	2	4	3
TEHCHPER	1	2	3	4

Discussion of the Findings in the Cluster Analysis

The cluster analysis by cases was performed on nine variables constructed from the key reading, metalinguistic and other discourse tasks described in the following chart. Our aim was to see in what ways the story-narrative tasks and their related discourse/reading skills could be used as a selective principle for categorizing students, and if these discourse abilities were in any way differentially distributed from reading skills and reading group placement. If differences were to be shown, then we need to see which of these variables were differently distributed.

Our findings briefly summarized support our hypothesis that discourse-narrative skills while related to reading are an independent dimension. Initially we can see in the following chart showing the cluster group's composition by child that reading group placement is not synonomous with either discourse skill nor ethnicity; there is however a high degree of overlap with reading skills. The first formed and therefore most alike group on discourse related tasks, is cluster one. This is composed of 4 white and 2 black children who are in H+, H and middle reading groups. The second cluster group is all white children in both high and middle reading groups. The third and fourth groups while both composed of black children differ in that group three is made up of low reading group children, and group four is made up of middle reading group children.

When we look at the variable values in the matrix as a rank ordering of groups on the nine variables we begin to see in more detail how the discourse tasks on story-narrative relate to the other skills (see chart 2.) The specific reading tasks have a similar ordering in relationship to the cluster groups, although as we have shown they do not have a precise agreement with reading group placement itself but represent an interesting diversity. Variables 3 and 4 relate to the selected metalinguistic tasks, here the reversals of rank ordering between the g ups suggest an alteration of the relationship between specific reading skills such as phonetic recognition, word segmentations tasks and discourse abilities. It is interesting, following on from Collins study, to notice that cluster 3 formed of low readers has the highest relationship with phoneme segmentation and recognition tasks, the skill in which low reading groups get most practice. The mostly high reading group (cluster two) has highest rank with the word recognition tasks. Both reading tasks and the teacher's perception of reading ability agree with the cluster ordering suggesting

that while cluster 4 members are quite good story-tellers and are in the middle reading group, they are perceived by the teacher as potentially difficult to evaluate. Rank ordering of the cluster groups and the discourse variables shows an interesting variation. On the first telling of the picture narrative group four has the highest Z score suggesting that the members of this group did best on this task as a group; but for the ordering followed the group assignments. Discourse variable three was the correct placement of the five story cards in sequence, in this task group two scored highest. Discourse task four, the free narrative, again group one scored highest with group 4 scoring higher than group three, suggesting that our prediction about story-telling ability with reading can receive some support.

Our conclusions to this study are that the cluster group analysis gives us a way of estimating the influence of story-telling abilities as part of the discourse competence that children bring to achieving the school based skills of reading and literacy. These findings suggest that discourse abilities are varied, and that not all discourse tasks develop the same talents. We suggest that more work with oral narrative in several forms might be an alternative preparation and support for the development of reading skills.

We would like to thank Don Lue, (School of Education, Berkeley) for his help with the statistical analysis.

SITUATIONAL PROPERTIES OF COMPETENCE: A CASE STUDY OF ONE CHILD'S BEHAVIOR IN TWO EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

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Traditionally, experimental research on teaching and learning attempts to manipulate one variable while holding all others constant; the results are then generalized to other settings. The setting itself and the reasons for subjects being in that particular setting are not typically considered as variables of any importance. The students themselves are commonly viewed as objects with attributes that can be measured, so that the focus has been on developing objective measures of absolute capacities that a child uses for all situations, rather than on interactional contexts and on teachers' ways of assessing and typifying students and on the ways in which teachers and students interpret and give meaning to educational situations. Children's competency and motivation are seen as fixed attributes and not as varying qualities which are dependent upon the particular demands of specific settings and situations.

An alternate perspective on teaching and learning views children's abilities as a function of the particular setting, the explicit and implicit rules for participation in that setting and the criteria for success. Barker (1968) was an early proponent of environmental theories of human behavior and more recently Cole (1979) stressed the need for a "theory of environments" or a "taxonomy of behavioral settings", which will take into account influences resulting from particular settings and contexts.

The present paper deals with one child's observed behavior in two different educational settings, a fourth grade classroom and a field trip to a "discovery room", located in a public science center. In comparing one child's behavior in the two kinds of educational settings we will document the context-bound nature of evaluation of children's abilities, analyzing the physical features of each setting, rules for participation and the behavioral displays, both kinesic and verbal, that demonstrate attentiveness and involvement, competence and learning in each of the settings. We will argue that these environmental variables combine to produce situations which strongly influence children's motivation, level of participation and ability to demonstrate competency. We show

how the same behaviors defined in one setting as "immaturity", "disruptiveness" and "inability to focus attention" are seen as "curiosity", "creativity" and "strong exploratory tendencies" in the other setting.

The present work is a part of the School-Home Ethnography Project (1978) that seeks to document and explain differential learning in the classroom and children's behavior and modes of learning across settings. For seven months Schafer was an active participant and observer in a fourth grade classroom. Prior to the outset of this project, Gottfried (1979) had conducted a study of children's behavior and learning in the context of school field trips to the "biology discovery room" in the Lawrence Hall of Science (LHS) at Berkeley. This study provided baseline data on children's exploratory and social behavior and learning in the science center setting which enable us to characterize this setting as a strategic research site for investigating children's informal modes of learning in a free-choice educational setting.

DERRICK AT SCHOOL

Derrick was selected as one of six target students to follow through the school year in a multi-ethnic, urban fourth grade classroom. Focal individuals were chosen on the basis of ability grouping and observation of informal peer associations as part of an ethnographic study of how classroom participants organize events like lessons, reading group meetings and seatwork and with the implications these processes have for the evaluation of students' performance. We were particularly interested in how children's experiences in the classroom differed as a function of participation in different ability groups and with the interactive processes that created and maintained the social identities of good and poor students. Derrick was selected because he was in the low ability group for both reading and math and yet he seemed to be socially influencial with peers both in and out of school. By the second week of school, Derrick was identified by the teacher as a "behavior problem" because of his "immaturity". The teacher describes Derrick as "so immature, he's unable to do as instructed for any period of time. He's young, June or July birthday, has low skills. I still want to send him back to the third grade." From the teacher's perspective, Derrick's problem, the location of his trouble, is his immaturity. Immaturity is a common-sense construct, a social type, used by the teacher to interpret student behavior in the classroom. Designations of maturity/immaturity are ways of explaining why certain actions occur in the classroom because of posited developmental abilities. But immaturity is not a characteristic of the child

independent of the context of the environment in which the "immaturity" manifests itself. The teacher's assessment of Derrick makes sense only if it is embedded in some understanding of the nature of social organization of the classroom. That is, the teacher assumes a shared notion of classroom activities as the contexts in which such troubles present themselves and become impediments to teaching and learning. Here we will be concerned with documenting the teacher's assessment practices in relation to the classroom contexts in which the evaluation is situated in order to show how the practical circumstances of implementing group instruction are transformed into criteria for evaluating student competence and learning potential.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CLASSROOM

Much of what goes on in the classroom represents relatively stable patterns of organization established by the teacher in response to the basic conditions of teaching: the teacher must plan and manage instruction for a diverse group of 30 students and deal with the social properties of the collective. The daily routine of classroom activities operates as a sequence of "controlled behavior settings" that were planned by the teacher to ensure both order and constructive activity in conformance with her learning goals for students. She is explicitly aware that the immediate social setting shapes student behavior, that students' actions are grossly controlled by the pattern of constraints and opportunities provided by the instructional contexts by which the teacher structures the school day. The episodic organization of the school day becomes one of the primary schemes of interpretaion by which she assesses behavior and typifies students. Very early on the teacher begins to formulate a picture of the individual students in the class in terms of the way they behave in recurring educational situations. The appropriateness of a student's behavior is assessed in relation to the context of its occurrence and in terms of how the student's actions impinge on the scheduled activity for the collectivity. Derrick's behavior violates the teacher's expectations for appropriate behavior in two well-defined situational frames for classroom events: Independent work and whole group lesson situations.

INDEPENDENT WORK: The teacher's view of Derrick's "exploratory behavior"

One particularly salient feature of classroom organization in the elementary grades is the assignment of students to ability groups for reading instruction. Teachers perceive that most classrooms contain children who vary widely in reading

ability and attainment, and hence in the capacity to benefit from any particular level or pace of reading instruction. In this particular class, the beginning of the year reading test scores, measured in grade equivalents, range from 1.6 to 7.9. The teacher subdivides the class into 3 ability groups and meets individually with the two students who read at a first grade level, in order to accomodate the student diversity. The popular belief is that ability grouping reduces "pacing problems", allowing the teacher to adjust the curriculum to an appropriate level of challenge for each group. However, grouping for instruction also poses a management dilemma: Since all groups cannot have a teacher directed lesson at one time, the teacher must plan and manage multiple activities that occur simultaneously. A common pattern, and the one used in this classroom, is for the teacher to conduct a reading lesson with one group while the other students work independently on seatwork assignments at their desks. The fact that the teacher has to monitor and maintain the entire social setting as an appropriate work environment while she is engaged in working directly with a small group of the children, has an important influence on the forms of control and evaluation applied to individual behavior. Students are expected to exert self control and "act like grown up fourth graders" by staying in their seats, focusing attention on their work and avoiding behavior that is distracting to others.

Early in the year, the teacher says that her role as a fourth grade teacher is "to grow up the children" and "teach them to work" in order to enable them to make the transition from the primary grades to middle school and meet the requirements necessary to their "survival", based on her knowledge of what lies ahead in 5th and 6th grade. One of the teacher's primary goals, and a stated aim of the fourth grade curriculum, is to foster "independent work habits"--or more specifically, the ability to follow instructions and settle down to work in the presence of others with little direct assistance or supervision from the teacher. From the teacher's perspective, the daily morning seatwork assignments accomplished both instructional and management aims. They provide students with opportunities for and practice in doing independent work, and free the teacher to work with small groups of children. As the teacher works with one group of students, she also monitors the activities of students working independently at their desks, attending to noise and movement as cues indicative of an appropriate level of work engagement. Moving around the room without an apparently legitimate errand (such as sharpening a pencil), talking loudly, or interrupting the reading group to ask the teacher a question are forms of behavior that are

sanctioned. Quiet talking is tolerated as long as it does not disturb the reading group meeting. Provision is made, at least tacitly, for children to confer with others about assignments: the children are seated in two aisles of desks. Desks are side by side, facing another row of desks. Part of acting like "grown up fourth graders" is learning to "maintain" themselves in a very interactive seating arrangement without the teacher's direct supervision. Children who cannot sit in the group without distracting themselves or others are excluded from class seating and have their desks placed on the borders of the room away from the group.

It is in the context of this activity that Derrick's identity as a "behavior problem" is initially formulated by the teacher. Derrick does not stay in his seat. He likes to move around either shifting to one of the group study tables in the classroom to work, or getting up and walking to various locations in the classroom under the guise of a legitimate errand--sharpening a pencil, getting a kleenex, throwing paper in the waste basket, etc. One of the variable, negotiated elements of classroom discipline is how the teacher defines a particular student's movement in a particular situation. The teacher might ignore it, she might inquire as to its purpose:

Teacher: Michael, what are you doing in the closet?

Michael: I was only getting my pencil.

or she might view it as symptomatic of an underlying problem. In deciding how a particular student's action is to be "seen" or "taken", the teacher makes some identification of the student involvement in terms of past academic performance and general classroom deportment. In this particular case, Derrick's behavior is glossed as "inability to focus attention, inability to stay in his seat and to do work independently". Derrick's behavior is seen as an impediment to his learning and as a distraction to others. Thus sensitized to this behavior problem, the teacher "makes an issue" out of compliance. Derrick's desk is moved away from the class group to a location near the reading table so that the teacher can monitor his activities more closely. Every Movement which occurs in the guise of legitimate activity is commented on:

Teacher: "Derrick, I'm going to have to start charging you a nickel for each kleenex."

The teacher's perspective is determined by the practical circumstances of teaching 4th grade with its particular forms of classroom organization. If students cannot work independently, the classroom organization of ability groups for reading instruction cannot function. The pragmatic task of maintaining ability groups and the situational demands on appropriate student conduct in this setting

underly the teacher's characterization of Derrick as an immature student. A student who cannot stay in his seat and focus his attention distracts the teacher from her work with reading groups and requires extra attention and effort in monitoring his seatwork activities so that his behavior does not result in the disintegration of the classroom situation as a setting conducive to serious work.

WHOLE CLASS LESSONS: Derrick as a catalyst for misbehavior

In the whole class lesson situation, the teacher addresses the class as a group, transmitting information during actual instruction, giving directions for assignments or issuing procedural directives and announcements. On these occasions, the students are expected to be "listening" or "paying attention" to the teacher. Such listening precludes students simultaneously attending to side involvements, such as interacting with peers, playing with pencils or rulers or other objects on the desk, beginning work on the assingment before the teacher has completed giving directions, and so forth. At the beginning of a lesson, the teacher frequently issues directives such as "sit up straight and look at me" or "I said to get books out, not open them. I want your attention up here" until the group assumes a coherent configuration of both postural and visual attention to the teacher. She withholds instruction until the room is completely silent, symbolizing the termination of all side involvements. In this situation, where all children are expected to direct undivided attention to the teacher, such acts as fidgeting, whispering, daydreaming, and minor disruptive behavior are seen as threatening the main involvement in the lesson and are sanctioned. For example, in the beginning phase of a math lesson, Derrick stretches and yawns audibly. The teacher says: "Please leave the room if you're going to be so rude. Come on now, leave the room." Derrick goes to sit at a desk in the hall and begins to look through its contents. The teacher says to the class: "He even disturbs us when he's out of the room." Addressing Derrick, she says: "Quit banging the desk top." (A few minutes later she goes out to Derrick and says: "Hey, why can't you behave yourself." She brings him back into the class to hear the directions for the assignment.)

Part of the teacher's expertise in maintaining collective attention to the task at hand, is her knowledge of the characteristics of individual students: which students are easily distracted, what kinds of answers to expect from different students, and the likelihood that a particular student's behavior

will elicit reactions from other students. In this context, Derrick is viewed as a catalyst for misbehavior. Derrick is verbally adept at making puns and other 'double meanings', reframing the context in a way that is disruptive to the lesson focus. For example:

> During a spelling lesson involving words with variant spellings for the long e sound, the teacher says: "Sometimes that same sound might be spelled..." Derrick calls out: "Wrong."
>
> The teacher is writing students' responses on the board. Derrick calls out: "Yabba Yabba Doo!" (Another likely offender in this context is a boy named Abba. Derrick turns around in his seat and looks at Abba as if he is reacting to Abba's comment.)
> The teacher turns from the board and looks at Abba. She says: "What?"
> Abba says: "I didn't say that."
> The teacher looks at Derrick, then resumes writing on the board.
>
> A teacher from the district office is conducting a written lesson as a model for the classroom teacher. The lesson involves writing an expository paragraph containing an ASSERTION, PROOF, and CONCLUSION. The visiting teacher has elicited an assertion statement: "Mrs. Hayden is nice". She calls on other students for statements that prove this assertion.
> Margo says: "She doesn't yell at us too much."
> Derrick calls out: "Prove it! OK, take it out."

In other contexts, Derrick's behavior might be taken as a sign of verbal creativity and intelligence. In this context, the teacher views it as being "uncooperative". Calling out is an inappropriate form of "attention-getting" behavior characteristic of immature students, further evidence of Derrick's immaturity and inability to participate appropriately as a member of the classroom collectivity. Underlying the teacher's use of the social type "immature student", and the grounds for its application to Derrick's behavior in this setting, is a very practical concern--keeping the attention of 29 students while one student is misbehaving and diverting the attention of the others.

PLACEMENT IN SUBGROUP STRUCTURE AND SUBSEQUENT GRADE RETENTION

The teacher's designation of Derrick as an "immature" student is used as a resource for making placement decisions in regard to ability grouping and promotion to the next grade. At the beginning of the year, Derrick and three other entering students join two "retainees"--students repeating the 4th grade--in the low reading group. The teacher's practices in making assignments to reading groups rely on her assessment of the child's behavior--trouble-making propensity, willingness and ability to work independently--as well as on academic indicators -- test scores, academic record and teacher recommendations

from the previous year. The following table shows reading test scores at the end of 3rd grade and at the end of 4th grade for the students in the low reading group. Test scores are expressed as grade equivalents.

"new" students	end of 3rd grade	end of 4th grade
Derrick	2.9	3.8
Trent	-	2.8
Danita	2.0	2.4
Alice-Jean	2.0	4.4
"retainees"		
Cam	2.4	3.8
Terry	2.2	3.8

In the fourth week of school, the teacher changes the group assignment for one of the students, Alice-Jean, moving her into the middle ability group. A comparison of the teacher's remarks following the first parent-teacher conferences reveals some of the social criteria that enter into the teacher's judgements and affect the student's school career:

Alice-Jean: "Good worker. So motivated, I expect her to be on grade level by the end of the year. I wrote nothing but good things in the report."

Derrick: "So immature, he's unable to do as instructed for any period of time. He's young, June or July birthday, has low skills. I still want to send him back to the third grade. I told his mother that he will not leave this class until he's ready to do some work."

What Derrick lacks is not intelligence. His trouble in school arises from his failure to exhibit patterns of behavior in conformance with the normative order for classroom displays of competence, attentiveness and learning. The teacher's generalized deficit view of Derrick's performance is phrased in terms of his lack of certain social skills that are necessary for survival in the formal, organized environment of the classroom. Discipline is the teacher's gloss for patterns of control and attention that are seen as prerequisites to school learning. Derrick's incompetent behavior--his inability to focus attention, inability to stay in his seat, inability to do independent work, inability to do as instructed for any period of time--takes on its specific meaning from the setting and its use by the teacher to both organize and recognize learning performances. In contrast to Derrick's failing performance in the classroom,

his behavior in an educational setting which emphasizes the active role of the learner proyides a quite different view of his competence.

DERRICK AT THE BIOLOGY DISCOVERY ROOM

The Biology Discovery Room at the Lawrence Hall of Science contains an assortment of animals, most of which can be picked up, and an apparatus that allows visitors to make discoveries about animal behavior, anatomy and physiology such as stethoscopes for listening to heartbeats, materials for building rat mazes and snake mazes and skin temperature maps. During school field trips, children are given a brief orientation and then are free to explore the room, touch the animals and engage in activities. Derrick was systematically observed as one of six focal individuals during his class' visit to the Biology lab. (Derrick had been chosen as one of the focal students in the larger ethnographic study because he was in the low ability group for both reading and math; other focal students in high and middle ability groups were also observed.) The hour-long visit to the Biology Discovery Room was videotaped using two stationary cameras and a Porta Pak unit. The six target students were audiotaped during as much of their exploration as possible. For two of these children, including Derrick, physical movement patterns were also recorded. Eight adult observers were involved, one tracking each target child and two doing the physical movement records. Observers were unaware of the hcildren's ability group placement at school. All episodes of exploration were noted, timed and coded using the Curiosity Index of Motor Activity (CIMA) (Peterson and Lowery, 1974). Questions the children asked were recorded, along with information about the social grouping at each exhibit and the context of each exploratory episode. The focus of interest was on how children influence one another's exploratory behavior and learning. (For a more complete description of the methodology used, see Gottfried, 1979.)

EXPLORATORY BEHAVIOR AND CURIOSITY

One important dimension of children's behavior in the discovery room setting was the degree of their exploratory behavior. When a child encountered an exhibit, did s/he observe it, touch it or manipulate variables so as to conduct an experiment? These types of behaviors were rated 1, 2, or 3, respectively, using an CIMA. Derrick was extremely active and exploratory during his school field trip to the Biology Discovery Room. Derrick's choice of activities and the duration of his involvement at different exhibits reflected his out of school

interest in fishing and related water sports. He spent more than 2 minutes at each of 4 exhibits: the duck pond, the crayfish pool, the turtles and the fish tanks. At each of these exhibits, Derrick told stories about experiences he and his father had had fishing and catching crayfish together. On one occasion, he proudly described how he prepares gumbo from fish that he catcher.

As Derrick proceeded from place to place in the room, he displayed the distinctive "search and dart" type of motion that was also reported in Gottfried's study (1979) of 30 other focal individuals. This pattern of behavior involves the child scanning the room as he walks quickly in a straight line and then, without warning, shifting direction with a sudden, jerky movement in order to make a bee-line for an exhibit that has caught his eye. Derrick engaged in more episodes of exploration than any of the 30 focal individuals in Gottfried's study and engaged in a greater percentage of experiments (activities rated 3 on the CIMA) than the average of the 30 other children. Derrick expressed curiosity verbally as well, asking twice the average number of questions during his visit. The table below provides a summary of the data on Derrick's exploratory behavior along with the averages of similar data on the thirty focal individuals studied by Gottfried in the same setting and context.

Table 1. A summary of the data on Derrick's exploratory behavior in the Biology Discovery Room compared with averages of 30 focal individuals observed in the same setting and context.

Derrick's Observed Behavior	Average of 30 Focal Individuals
% of episodes rated as "1" on CIMA...29%	35%
% episodes rated as "2" on CIMA...42%	40%
% episodes rated as "3" on CIMA...29%	25%
# episodes of exploration....57 (s=8.4)	23
# questions asked...7 (s = 4.0)	3.6

DERRICK AS TEACHER AND CATALYST

One focus of particular interest is on how children influence one another's exploratory behavior and learning. Two behavioral phenomena found to influence the children's exploration and the flow of information during field trips are peer teaching and observational learning. Peer teaching is where one child intentionally demonstrates skills and conveys facts to another child. Observational learning involves one child unobtrusively observing another child who

is involved in an activity and then getting involved him/herself after the role model has left or, at times, joining the role model in the activity. During the brief orientation that is presented to all school visit groups before the start of free exploration, all children are explicitly asked to share their skills and knowledge of animals with others who may be less experienced and possibly afraid of some animals.

In the course of his exploration of animals and exhibits, Derrick was observed in the role of peer teacher and role model for unobtrusive observers. There observations are summarized below.

Table 2. Instances in which Derrick was observed acting as a peer teacher and functioning as a role model.

Description of behavior	Number of Observations
Deliberately demonstrating an experiment or skill to another child or children	7
Deliberately conveying information about animals to other children	3
Functions as a role model and/or innovator by initiating an activity and attracting other children as observers and participants	5

Since he drew a crowd of observers on 5 occasions and was also explicitly asked for help in picking up animals on at least two other occasions, we have evidence that other children recognized Derrick's competence in this setting. Derrick contributed to the flow of information in the field trip setting by deliberately sharing information and skills that he had and by setting an example for other children who engaged in activities af-er having observed him. Derrick's behavior can also be described as cooperative since 4 of the 7 'demonstrations' listed in Table 2 refer to incidents where he showed other children how to hold or pick up an animal of which they were fearful, thus making it possible for the other children to participate.

We can see from these observations on Derrick's behavior in the context of the classroom and in the context of a biology laboratory that Derrick presents a different persona when his own personal interests govern his interaction with both students and adults. Learning what balance of impersonality and friendliness to maintain in each classroom situation is not an easy task for the pupil. Some are more successful in this learning than others. For

Differences in environmental assessment between:

Biology **Discovery Room**	4th Grade School **Classroom**
]. Encourages motor-activity--touching, moving about, manipulating.	]. Uses passing out papers, sharpening pencils, carrying messages to the office, and other teacher-directed physical activities as rewards; self-initiated motor activity is punished.
2. No uniform standard of behavior. A wide variety of behavior is acceptable and no formal evaluation takes place.	2. Compliance with normative standards of behavior is a pre-requisite to participation in learning activities.
3. Peer-teaching and collaboration on activities is explicitly requested and encouraged.	3. Most forms of collaboration come under the heading of "cheating".
4. No formal evaluation or external criteria of success is used. Children establish their own agendas.	4. Evaluation is individual.
5. Group decorum is not an issue in the discovery Room.	5. Great emphasis is placed on group decorum.
6. A wide variaety of activiities are perceived as being educational including motor exploration and sensory interaction with the environment.	6. A narrow range of recognizes learning activities exist.
7. Student-centered choice and d direction of activities (including talking).	7. Teacher-centered.
8. The purpose of activities becomes apparent as the activity runs its course; it often changes.	8. The intended outcomes of activities are explicit from the outset.
9. Personal Knowledge, experience and out of school interests can be applied to many situations.	9. Out of school knowledge and interests can be used only if they can be expressed in terms valued by the school.

all children, however, classroom discipline serves as the basic source of information. It is primarily in the context of playing around during work-time that student peer groupings can be observed to contribute to the establishment of productivity standards among their members - in the direction of "restriction of output". Peer group play activity during work-time often does serve as a competitive alternative to working. However, student susceptibility to these influences does vary - and varies in relation to the strength of network affiliations - and the modes of cooperation and conflict learned in the peer group. Our study of Derrick shows how one particular student in finding a balance between personal and social interests and classroom rules creates a school career that provides differential learning opportunities when compared to his more rule-following peers.

FAMILIES, SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN: THE HOME COMMUNICATIVE ENVIRONMENT STUDY

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General Introduction

The work reported on here was conducted through two different studies using two different methodologies.

Study one was an interview based study of the mothers' perception of her child, how the mother saw her child as a school student and a report on the pattern of activities that provided a family communicative environment and support for the school going child.

Study two was an ethnographic study of family conversation with the target school child in a naturalistic home context. This study necessarily had only a few cases and is reported in the following paper. The focus of the analysis of conversations is on comparison of the home-school environment.

Much of the work on the family and the school has looked at the relationships between these two organized groups in a very generalized form as of that between two institutions that are the main socializing agencies of the society. This relationship has usually been described or evaluated in terms of the amount of blame or responsibility that can be attached to either agency for the shortcomings of the end product: the school child and, more particularly, the school leaving child. While it is certainly true that the home/family and the school are the main agencies of socialization, they both exist in an actual social space which is far more complicated and which carries some of the burden of responsibility: Schools within communities and educational systems; families within neighborhoods and communities and within wider networks of extended families and friends. Schools and families both are definable and define themselves in relation to this wider series of attachments to the society of which they are agents and, given this, their self-definitions are essentially unequal. For the school is a very clearly definable entity, both socially and ecologically, existing in a universally specified set of physical spaces, buildings and relationships. Families however are much more varied in their composition and in their location in social contexts.

While there are pathways of contact between homes and schools provided by the institutional organization of the school within the community, the main contact between the home-family and the school is the school going child. The child acts as a go-between, a messenger between the two agencies, perhaps even between the two worlds or cultures of home and school. Many children who

come from cultures or backgrounds in any of several ways different from the school majority often become very conscious of their role as cultural go-between's. They are aware that they must translate the school's requirements of them or any demands or requests made of the family into terms acceptable to their parents and family. They also become aware that they must present their family to the school and their classmates, in ways that are acceptable; and that often means normatively corrected (e.g. Daddy works and Mummy stays at home and bakes and cleans, even if that is not the case or that the roles are reversed). Very early in their life career in school some children learn how to achieve impression management between these two very particular settings - school/classroom and home/family. Children also know as part of their very tangible social knowledge that these two settings make very particular demands on them which differ. How the child sees his/her family is very much a part of how the family defines itself. This self-definition although likely to be mediated to the child by the mother is created from the families interaction with its network of relationships - both its social and occupational engagement with the world outside.

It is these issues that we explore in the interview study with mothers of the first grade children. Our concern focuses on the issue that the interaction of these two groups of family and school as agencies for the socialization of children is the interaction of two groups of unequal power, meeting as if in equilibrium; equally concerned with the task of socializing the children who pass between them. However, this equilibrium is not always either maintained or realized on the part of the families and schools.

The family studies made in this research have explored the triple relationship of families, children and schools from two perspectives:
one: the social relationships both within and between families that form the social network for the family of which the school going child is a part. This network provides the social context for the discourse experience of the child.
two: the communicative conventions that develop within any particular family and the communicative experience these provide for the child particularly in comparison with school discourse experience.

We begin with the exploration of the network of relationships which provide the essential social context for the child's discourse communication experience at home. The child's communicative understanding and social identity that he/she brings to school is formed by interaction with family members and by the way in which the family (parents/other adults and siblings) mediate the other possible social relationships of kin, friends and acquaintances to the child. The

occasions in social life of a family and certain explicit socializing events have already provided the experiences through which the school child has learnt to speak and to use language to generate all kinds of social interactions. Therefore in order to develop any theoretical view of the ways in which home and school discourse are comparable or different it is necessary to ground that inquiry in some understanding of the social contexts for talk and communication available in families. There has been in the recent literature on child discourse very little explicit consideration of the role of the family and its social relationships in the development of discourse in children beyond the relationship of very early speech development. (an exception to this is the theories of Basil Bernstein developed in the 1960's; Bernstein 1971, 1974, Cook-Gumperz 1973; Gegan 1979) Such a wider examination of the role of the family and its relational patterning in the discourse development of children is necessary for a theory of language socialization which goes beyond the early and limited stages of the initial acquisition of speech (for critique, see Blount; Review of the development of communication Am Anthropologist 1980)

Research in Families

First a review of the possible ways of looking at the family in relation to education. Recent studies concerned with the families contemporary educational role have suggested that the family as a social group is not only hard to define, making policy decisions affecting families difficult, but it is also elusive. Hope Leichter states in the Family as Educator "the more you look for the family the more it isn't there "(1978). So that while the family has been recognized as providing an important learning environment for the pre-school child, research on the further relationship of the family to children's schooling have often seen the family as merely providing either a positive or negative support for school learning opportunities. Reasoning for this view of the family sees it as providing secondary, or an informal, learning situation for the child as opposed to the formal learning environment of the school. Families are seen as providing idiosyncratic learning environments of only residual importance compared with the structured learning contexts of the school. The preparation of children for economic roles in society has been taken over by the organized institutions for the transmission of skills and evaluation of performance that are especially created to meet these specific societal needs. The development of the theory of the nuclear family, of which Leichter's comment is intended as criticism suggested that modern industrial societies reduce the influence of the family in the processes of the maturation of children and also reduce the relational network of the family itself, to the immediate nuclear grouping of one genera-

tion of parents and children. This reduced group was functional for the social and geographic mobility of contemporary society. (Smelser and Halpern, 1978) However, recently this theoretical view has been questioned. While this view has had wide spread influence in social and educational thinking in the 1960's, this truncated view of the families influence has never been in accord with much of the findings from the research that has seen the family as part of a social community, as in the studies of the continuing influence of the family over the life cycle of its members. From such a perspective, the opportunities that different families can provide for their members is one continuing factor in their class and economic position. (Bell 1968, Wilmot and Young 1963, 1973) Added to this socio-economic influence, we are now more aware of the continual social influence of the family as a mediator of the outside world and the community to the child through a continuing period of childhood. Recent historical research in the relation of families to community has explored the nature of a families education and schooling goals for their children (Kaestle and Vinavokis 1978) finding that where a family views itself as part of the local community, choices of schooling are related to clearly defined future goals for children as adults.

It is therefore important to look at learning of discourse skills and language experiences gained in the family that continue to shape the child's social understanding through most of the school years with few exceptions; one such exception would be the socialization process provided by comprehensive institutions such as boarding schools. Children bring to their early years in school a communicatively developed identity. It is in these early years where the clash between home and school practices are seen as of particular importance.

An initial problem is how to gain access to the family communicative environment, if the family is an elusive and hard to define unit. We suggest that we can best begin by understanding the families own definition of itself. Within the research context the family has often been regarded as synonomous with the demographers concept of a household. But, in terms of the communicative experience and language socialization potential of the family, it is only by understanding particular families own awareness of themselves as a social group and their relationships to other groups, that we can begin to explain how different communicative environments and conventions exist. This approach to the family is useful for several reasons:

1) families are changing environments with different life cycle requirements - relational balance becomes renegotiated over the life cycle (changes of age or of relationships e.g. divorce)
2) families have a changing relationship to the social world outside such as

changes of employment-status, economic factors and geographic changes.

3) families have a socio-political identity as a household of which they are aware-but how this identity is fulfilled must be negotiated in relation to other families and other practices of the individual family, as the achievement of the normative ideal.

Central to this concept of the family as a self-defining unit, is the family as a social group which has an internal network of relationships and is part of a wider social network. The family as a social network was a concept developed by Elizabeth Bott (The Family as the Social Network 1957) in a study both of the patterning of parent-conjugal roles and the parents conception of their family as a normal or typically functioning family unit. The conception of a network of relationships referred both to the balance of responsibilities and perceived duties of the two adult members and their dual relationships to their kin and/or their neighbors and friends; these networks of kin/friends were categorized as close-knit or loose-knit.

It has more recently been pointed out that the concept of a network of relationships made up of kin, friends, neighbors and associates,while providing some of the reasoning for what happens inside the family in terms of the support system provided for conjugal adults, does not allow for the differences in support that can be given by the different components of the network (Barnes 1967, Noble 1976). The idea of a network of relationships that provides a seperate support system for the family and a mirror for its self-identity must be considered also in terms of the differences in contemporary society between friends, work associates, close family members and extended kin and the strengthening or loosening of these varied ties by geographic or social proximity. Also the relationship within families between the members and their own different links to others may form a series of networks. Bott's original network idea was to treat conjugal pairs as a single unit whose relationship to self and others formed the central core which shaped the family itself and its relationships. The recent work whether critical or supportive of Bott's thesis suggests that the relationship of members cannot be specified in terms of only the outside network. This work serves to highlight the importance of giving serious consideration to the basic conception of the families defining themselves in relation to their internal interaction and the way in which families evaluate their practices as a response to the world outside of the family and to their social network. This idea of social network is centrally important for looking at the patterns of communication which develop and maintain themselves in families.

Apart from exploring the families existence and identity in the social world we also need to find a way of conceptualizing the language communicative experience that occurs between family members.

The family as a unit can be seen as having a communicative economy (Hymes 1968) that is, an allocation of scarce resources within the family domain: time, space and psychic energy can all be seen as essentially but potentially scarce resources within the family and which are distributed differentially. Decisions about the allocation or distribution of both space and time reflect the ordering of the families roles; this distribution also reflexively creates this order by means of the talk and communication necessary to carry out the decisions and reinforce the distributive schemes. Such a view is central to our theoretical concern with the generation of social order through language. In order to understand the communicative economy of the family we must explore the family member's views of the distribution of resources at the most practical level of daily life; the routines and deviations from these that make up family events, the uses of space and views about the lifespace of the family members. This will be a topic area for our study.

Such an approach to understanding relationships between members of a family group will allow us to see how communicative patterns can develop and how the regulative framework that the relationship of members of the family provide for the development of specific discourse skills. That is, we are looking for a way of assessing actual families as social units and as environments for language socialization. By focusing on the social network both supporting and influencing the family and their communicative economy (distribution of resources within the family) we can hopefully differentiate between communicative patterns and conventions that exist and provide a possible predicative basis for linking children's experience of the family communicative situations to that of the school and to other learning experiences.

The next question is how can this theoretically outlined program be carried out? The purpose of the studies reported on here, were to provide some basic information within the two areas theoretically outlined above for the families of children in the first grade classroom. Our ultimate goal was a better understanding of the nature of the communicative environment provided by the home context and as a basis for understanding the socio-communicative identity these children bring to the school. As we have described in the previous section of the report, misunderstanding based upon different inferential processes and situated interpretations of intent within the talk are a daily part of communication.

However, if these misunderstandings are a regular part of interaction discourse between teacher and student, they can become categorized as carrying definable social intent. The strategies of remedial communication are severely limited where home discourse patterns differ radically from those of the school. But another essential component is the home supported communicative identity of the interactants. How miscommunication-remedial strategies and other conversational strategies are used will depend to a large extent upon the interactants previous experience outside of school, as well as upon the communicative patterns developed in classrooms. Before we can explore in detail some specific strategies, we need to get some idea of the social-communicative environment for most of the children in the class and to develop a more general idea of the way in which family practices provide a broader social-communicative environment for specific discourse skills to be learnt. We decided to explore the general area of family networks, those of the mother/parents and children and the relationship of these networks to the communicative desicions made in the family by the mother through an interview with each mother of a first grade student. This research strategy seemed best suited to the resources available, to gain a general view of the families communicative patterns.

Study 1. The Communicative Economy of The Home and Family

Our ethnographic work in the classroom showed us the importance of using both work at home and at school in any study of children's school performances. In the early grades the transition from home to school is a consistently introduced part of the school day and the classroom curriculum. Such events as newstime/sharing, personal objects brought from home (clothes and clothes style; children's personal diaries) all bring the home events into the school day and into use in the classroom curriculum. Teacher's perception of the children's family and the knowledge many teachers have of other children from the same family all become a part of the child's school identity along with shaping the teacher's perception of children's classroom actions and the reasoning/explanations that teacher's use in their evaluation of children's performance. (Mehan et al, 1980) We are approaching this problem of the child's school identity from an opposite viewpoint in asking what shapes the mother's perception of her child, the school classroom activities and the child's growing identity as a school child. How does the mother see her child in relation to both family and school?-How does she see her family as a social group which contains one or more school children with needs that change in relation to the group?

Methods

We developed, through pilot interviews a questionairre which was used as a framework for an interview between the mother and a researcher. The interview was conducted as much as possible as a conversational interchange and, although the interviewer stayed as close as possible to the order of the questions, they were encouraged to follow a topic if it developed spontaneously rather than adhere rigidly to the question ordering. The individual question format was kept. Experience with the pilot interview showed us that it was necessary in the interview to establish the school child as the focus of concern and not the mother herslf or her practices of child-rearing. Pilot interviews with black mothers showed us that only by focusing on the child and school related topics at first could we gain any co-operation. The ordering of the questions was changed for black mothers interviews from those originally set up.

Our questions were developed around the theme of the first grade child's life outside of school and, as researchers, our interest in learning a little more about the children's out of school life. The researchers were very willing to talk about their observations of the subject child in school (of course, positively) and so to, in a sense, trade observations and information with the mothers who do not see their child in a context with strangers. Our interest in the mother's views of school were asked for, but our concerns with the mother's family relationships and support network were only raised as incidental issues to the main theme. A similar child focused approach with a much longer but equally open and relaxed question/interview session is reported in John and Elizabeth Newson (1977; "The Seven Year Old Child and The School.") The question set covered a range of specific topics in what we found to be a 'best-fit' natural conversational order. The investigative dimensions underlying the questions provides a set of issues to which we can relate the discussions of the mothers and researchers; the order of the questions formed did not relate to the underlying thematic dimensions but to the conversational order. The interview was coded from the tape-recordings using a series of topic groupings and specific questions, by three coders, who established their reliability of independent coding. The topic groupings reflected the dimensions of interest on which the questions were based and which formed themes for the interviewing. Due to the very small sample size (14) our findings will be reported as a narrative account with some questions summarized numerically, as indicators of the trends in this small data set. Such a data set must necessarily be regarded as hypothesis generating. Our findings provide explanations relating

to the immediate ethnography. Any wider explanations must necessarily be limited to a hypothesis-generating use of these findings.

We discuss the findings in relation to each dimension/topic area and begin by focusing on the mother's perception of the child's relations to the school; and then go on to look at differing ways mothers see their children's social attachments, responsibilities and friendships, and, in short, the child's life world. The discussion is in general terms referring to the black, lower-class mothers and white, middle class mothers as groups and only commenting on any special cases. (Given the very small numerical counts, these are included in an appendix)

(Dimension six) Children and the school from the mothers's perspective
(Dimension one and five) Children's position and role in the family
(Dimension four) Children's friendship network.
(Dimension two) The mother's social network
(Dimension three) The family and the outside world from the mother's point of view

Our aim in analysis and discussion of this material is to give an overall impression of some of the main criteria that influence the communicative economy of the home, in terms of the relationships and resources which families have at their disposal.

Children in relation to the School: It has been suggested in a study of school-home Sarah Lightfoot (1978) that this relationship is considerably affected by the fact that both mother and primary school teachers as women are required to take major responsibility for the socialization of children into values and attitudes which they themselves are mostly powerless to effect or change. Lightfoot suggests that such a position of powerlessness makes them both competitive and unsure in their relations to each other's roles in child-socialization. Both upwardly mobile and many middle class mothers are likely to express their anxiety to the school, and their concern about the teacher's effectiveness; lower class mothers are likely to be less responsive to the school, but nonetheless anxious at the relationship.

Our findings seem to bear out Lightfoot's suggestions in that the middle class mothers, while expressing support for the teachers with such comments as "they do a marvelous job in difficult circumstances", would go to the teacher and if necessary, to the school principal if their child had a problem. Lower class mother's often expressed concern or even resentment at the school situation in relation to their child. In particular, one mother whose child had been retained for two years in first grade finally decided to move the child to another school

because she felt this treatment was wrong. However, none said they would go to see the teacher or any one else at the school.

Concern over the child's journey to and from school focused on the child's psychological as well as physical transition. The middle class mother's most anxious about school, also felt concern over this transition. These mothers (there were three) also felt themselves to be more limited in their own family and friendship network and so perhaps less secure. The secure middle class mothers, some of whom at this stage into the child's school career saw family/ friends as of equal or more importance in the child's life space than school, expressed no such concern.

Given these findings our main interest is in the question of how the mothers would monitor school problems with her child? In what discourse occasions would talk about school arise, and how would these be developed? Our general view was that for the middle class mother, talk about school would be occasioned and indirect. However, the mother would probe and try to talk about "what happens at school" if she was concerned. She would check with the teacher and intervene if some change was considered necessary. Middle class mothers are often openly supportive of individual teachers even if critical of the school. These mothers while they take a non-reactive, or positive attitude in talking with their children about the teacher/school, they are likely to act independently of the child's report if they are concerned. Again for the middle class child the model seems to be that of the child's environment being stage managed by the mother.

Lower class mothers talk about school in ways that are either more openly supportive or more openly negative. These mothers are more likely to be reactive to concerns about school/teacher/class at home in ways that are supportive of the school/teacher authority but they are less likely to act on their child's reports. School is another area, like the peer group, where the child gets communicative feedback but little direct action from the parent.

Dimensions one and five provide us with two different views of some rather similar concerns with the child's life worlds. In dimension one, we explicitly explore the child's role and position in the family firstly in terms of how much responsibility is given to and expected of the child; secondly, in terms of whether this position is seen by the mother as being supported by any practical arrangements of time and activities given to the child. This aspect of the life space of the child is explored in greater detail in dimension five where the kinds of activities arranged for or by the school going child are discussed with the mother. The amount of time the child is involved with the mother or other

family members in activities especially holiday activities is also explored. These concerns of responsibility and the organization of free and out-of school time maximally divide black and white mothers; in that there are two very different views of the child. The white middle class mothers are concerned that their child's time is profitably filled with activities. Discussions of the scheduling of the child's after school and out of school days can be very detailed. A large part of the mother's responsibility for the child's 'home education' is concerned with supervizing what she sees as meaningful out of school activities. The child is given a sphere of operation often clearly defined as their own, at the same time this sphere is under the surveillance of the mother. The child's relationship to the values and objectives of the family is very much that of an apprentice; while at the same time few of the mothers really suggested that the child was given any regular chores or responsibilities. The child is however given a defined child's sphere of activities, of play and of social and physical space in which "to be a child".

For black lower class children, social space and physical is likely to be outside the home and so to be outside of the jurisdiction of the mother. The child is more likely, and at an early age, to be seen as a collaborative partner in household chores and in responsibilities for younger siblings. The child's other activities are more likely to be determined by the child, and the peer/child world to be defined as the child's own business. However, there are sex differences in these matters, girls being more supervized than boys in their social-play activity; and more household co-operation expected from girls. Exceptions to this pattern for lower class families are where there is a concern for social mobility so that more conscious efforts are made to keep children within the home and under surveillance; or where there is a strong committment to a set of values such as a religious group which keeps children within the family and involved in family-church affairs, pulling the family into a closely-knit network of other friends.

The questions about holidays, both short holidays and long summer vacations, had great difference presumably directly related to socio-economic choices. The question was always seen by middle class mothers in terms of differentiated activites or long-term plans; by lower class in terms of day trips and occasional family activities. For the lower class child school takes up a large part of the lifespace in terms of the activites it promotes; for the middle class child it has a much lesser importance. For the middle class child in these early grades, life within the family sphere and within the home context is still of pre-eminent importance.

The major difference between middle and lower class children seems to be the amount of planning and planned/scheduled time slots that are used to divide their days. Literature from the 1950's and 1960's on child socialization stressed the social class differences in 'deferred gratification' and time orientation. (Klein 1965) While the psychological theory that generated the idea of 'deferred gratification' may be rejected as a satisfactory description of the child's life, the planning ahead and segmentation of the day into separate activity areas (classes, visits, activity) is an important phenomenon. The middle class child learns to make and keep to planned actions within time slots; a very significant feature of school life which has a parallel out of school. However such a planned schedule for a 6-7 year old, is adult-maintained and supervised. Freedom to interact with others independently within their own time span is a part of lower class children's lives not often given to middle class children until they reach adolescence. The lower class child learns to organize and fill their own day's activities with less direct adult intervention.

In dimension four we explicitly explored the child's social network from the mother's perspective. In one of the questions, we wanted to know if the mother saw her influence and actions as important in this area of the child's life; and if the child's friends were seen as in some way an extension of the experiences the mother wanted for the child. Children's friendships can be seen as promoting experiences and values which the mother/parent want their children to have. (J. & E. Newson, 1977) There was a large difference between black and white mothers on these two questions; whether they knew the names of their child's best friends, and whether these friends were neighborhood friends or not. For the white middle class mothers, friends were known by name - they were likely to be separate school and home/family friends and not necessarily made by the child in the neighborhood. The picture given was of the selection of friends, from several different areas of the child's and the family's life and of the maintenance of friendship ties, even if friends moved away from the area. The mother evaluated the child's friends in terms of guidelines she would like to see in her child: honesty, sincerity, cheerfulness, creativeness were some of the most frequently mentioned. The mother's clearly put a great deal of importance on helping to promote their child's social-friendships, by encouraging friends who had left the area to come and stay by arranging events.

For black mothers, their children's friendships were neighborhood based. Many did not know the names of their child's best friends and they clearly saw child friendships as an area of autonomy. Where the white middle class mothers

were particularly pleased if their own friends had children who played or were friendly with their children, several of the black lower class mothers saw their own friendship network as quite separate from those of their children. To summarize, we can see a big difference between the middle class conception of friendships as an intrinsic part of the family social environment, promoted and supported by the mother and even sometimes overlapping with the mother's autonomy for the child; or one where siblings may be jointly involved with the same friends. Several black mothers indicated that for them the sibling and family/kin cousinage linkage was more important as a source of social life for their children, than friends who were not in any way involved with family concerns. The reports of children at sharing time bear out these differences.

Dimension two deals with the mother's perception of her own network. We expected to find a variety of responses to those questions that elicited information about the family, its position with regard to other friends and to the family of origin. A network for the mother can vary not only in terms of its composition and density, but also in terms of its intensity. So that, for example, a person may not see their family of origin very frequently but may feel a close tie which is strongly reinforced by both distant communication, and regular if infrequent special meetings especially at ritual ceremonial occasions, (such as Christmas) so that intensity replaces density (frequency) of contacts and overlapping contacts but still provides a strong orientation of interest and support for the family. Our concern with these issues were expressed particularly in questions as to whether her family lived in the area or whether special friends took their place.

A network can also vary in composition where family ties are not strong or are not available (because of distance) so that the friendship connection may supply a similar support orientation as a substitute for kin relations, as well as providing greater density of contact. For example, a group of three or four mothers who met when their children were in the same 2 year old nursery group may continue contact outside of play group occasions, so providing a small but dense and very supportive network. One of the mothers interviewed referred to such an experience as "the park society" of mothers who met regularly at a local play area, and then continued this relationship outside of these occasions. A central question in this area was 2d. "If you had to go away, who would look after your child?" The questions which make up this dimension give us a view of the origins of the mother's network which can be generalized from several sources; personal friends, new and old, parents of the child's friends or close family and other kin relations. Studies of contemporary kin relationships suggest

that a feature of modern middle class kin relations is its selectivity. People are sociable with their kin only if these relationships are supported by common interests. (Firth, Hubert, Forge 1970). The questions in this topic area give us some idea of how mother's see their own network as being a major part of the whole family life, or as differentiated from it. On this issue mother's varied in their comments considerably as to whether family or child concerns were the "linking factor" in their network, that is friendships-acquaintances were through child oriented contacts or were part of adult oriented interests. One of the factors which influenced this (for white middle class mothers) was divorce (2 cases out of 14) where the mother was not constantly her child's support but shared support with the father. Here the mother's friends were not linked through family contacts but through the mother herself. Another linking factor to friendships might be the children themselves, but some of the mother's saw the move away from this basis for friendship linkage as one of the big chances that entry into full time school brought into the mother's life. Several mothers tried to keep the pre-school contacts of mothers and children, or the pre-school friendship circle open, but allowed to the interviewer that they were all moving

Most of the white middle class mothers saw friendship as existing either through the parents of their child's friends or saw the child/family orientation as being the most important and common feature of their contemporary friendships; with the exception of certain "old" friends from their pre-marriage or pre-child days. Most saw the two networks of family-kin as separate from their friendship network. One mother made the distinction quite clearly in response to the question about short holidays, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. Thanksgiving was for friends - the group of families who had once been neighbors still met for a shared Thanksgiving - Christmas was for the family-kin. And though it might not be carried out so explicitly by the other mothers, for all the middle class mothers, the division between friends and kin remained fairly distinct in their patterns of sociability. This division of interest and attention in patterns of sociability was one of the clearest differences, as far as the interviewer could uncover, between lower class black and middle class white mothers. The black mothers saw their friendships as more separate from committment to children and yet saw their kin in many cases more as personal friends-sisters-cousins ; mothers were more likely to form a supportive social network into

which their adult friendships also played a part. (see Stack 1975) These friendships centered on the mother's sociability needs not those of the childrens; although the children were included in social occasions. One mother commented in answer to a question about special occasions "I expect my children to behave when I have friends over, but I want my children to be here with my friends".

The purpose of dimension three was to develop a view of the mothers perception of the family position in regard to it linkages into a wider social framework - into job relations, assumptions of ideological communality with others through religion and other commitments that the family/mothers might make. Many of these questions were asked indirectly - particularly the question of religion which if important to the family was always mentioned somewhere in the interview by the mothers quite spontaneously - but we also, after piloting with both black and white mothers decided to ask a question about special family festivals - (Thanksgiving, Christmas, etc) which were occsions for further comments. We asked about jobs / occupations directly but answers were as expected often evasive. This dimension confirmed that there was a difference in the mothers views if a strong value orientation such as religious beliefs existed which gave the family a close-knit network of associates and support; this was similar across both black and white families.

Conclusion

From our findings in study one, we gain an idea of the workings of the home as a communicative environment. The situation in which the child's discourse skills develop is provided by the social network and communicative economy of the family. Briefly, we can give a summary picture of the effects of our findings of the mother's views of her child's school, friendships, position in the family and the mother's own social network, on the discourse occasions available for children in the home.

The middle class child is in a home situation where adults accommodate to the discourse needs of children, and so learn both to collaborate with and to follow an adult lead. The lower class child learns to compete for the floor, for attention and turns at talk with peers, and to some extent with adults who do not accomodate as readily to children. Adults expect the child to share talk occasions or to watch and attend to adult talk and banter. The lower class child is used to some allocated responsibility in the home, and an autonomy out-

side of the home in their own peer-child sphere. The middle class child has a specially arranged autonomy inside the home- a world set-up by adults often with a specially defined territory which to some extent symbolizes the child's role. Outside of the home the child has responsibility for behaving as a "family representative" that is with values that are shared by the family and with behavior that may exercise more self-control than the child needs to show at home.

What effects do these differences in the child's life-world have on the children's language and discourse strategies? And what influences will these have on the children's classroom behavior. We suggest,(and we will discuss this further in the concluding section of this report) that all the strategies involved with boundary maintenance both of the relationship between self and others and in the maintenance of social space will differ. Both of these boundaries, but particularly that of social space and territory are important in relationships between students and these will be differently defined and verbally monitored. These differences will be manifested in much of the language of helping, requesting and sharing, all areas where the amount of time, energy and other resources given to the other person must either be verbally defined or negotiated. This will also influence the authority relationship and recognition of rights of speaking between the adults in the school class and the children. Differences in what is to be taken as good, lively or appropriate speech are likely. Examples of these different assesments are in the ethnographic report of the lrst grade and in the paper on a case study of Derrick, by J. Schafer. For example, lower class children speak up or add comments to adult monologues and so are seen as impertinent; middle class children wait for the adult lead then add or extropolate on the teacher's words, so are seen as co-operative.

This understanding even at the level of misinterpretation of a single statement such as a "help me" request by a black lower class child, can easily arise. Michaels (1981) has reported that when some black children were given a task to do they called to her "Sarah help me please" which she took as an inability to do the task. At a suggestion from the teacher she refused help, whereupon the children easily did the task. She realized that in this context the "help me" was not a plea for aid but a strategy to get her to join them in a collaborative work group, rather than each individual working separately at their desks doing the task separately. Such misunderstandings can naturally arise unless we can understand more about the communicative environment in which children learn to talk and interact before they come to school.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introductory lead-in: We want to know what _____'s life outside of school is like. I was in school with him/her all last year and I got to see all the stuff they did in the classroom, on the playground, even in the lunchroom, but I don't really know what a kid of 6 or 7 does after school or when school is out.

1. a. What kinds of things does _____ do after school?

   b. How does s/he get home from school?

   c. Does _____ come right home after school or can s/he stop along the way, at a friend's or at a park?

   d. Do you have specific rules about coming straight home?

   e. What would s/he do if nobody was home?

2. a. Who are _____'s best friends? Are these basically school friends or kids in the neighborhood or children of your friends, etc.?

   b. How well do you know the parents of his/her best friends? If friends, how did you get to be friends?

   c. (i) Does _____ stay overnight with friends or have friends stay over? About how often? (ii) Does s/he ever stay overnight with relatives?

   d. If you (refers to mother only) had to go away for a couple of days, who would you like _____ to stay with? Has this ever happened?

   e. Have you ever not like one of _____'s friends? Why? Did you ever try to discourage his/her friendship with this kid? If not, would you ever conceivably? What kinds of things are important to you about _____'s friends?

   f. If _____ had a fight with one of his/her friends, what would you do? (e.g., Would you talk to the friend's parents, etc.?) Has this ever happened? What did you do?

g. What would you do if _____ had a friend over and that child did something pretty bad, like kicked _____ for no good reason, or wrote on the walls or something? Has this ever happened? What did you do?

h. Where does _____ usually play with his friends? (Indoors or outside? In his bedroom, or playroom, etc.?) (i) Do you usually know what they're up to, or (ii) are they off and about by themselves? (Reverse i and ii for black families.)

3. a. What other things does _____ do around the house besides play with friends?

b. Does s/he have chores or other jobs to do? (e.g., babysitting for younger sister or brother)

c. Are there any special rules in the house? Things that you don't like _____ to do? (What are these rules and how do they work out?) What would happen if one of these rules got broken?

d. Are there any things that you would discipline _____ for? Has this ever happened? What did you do?

4. a. (i) What about your family and your husband's family? Do they live in this area? Do you see them often? Where do you usually see them? (ii) If your family doesn't live in this area, do you have a few friends who you feel especially close to, sort of like family?

b. Do most of your very best friends know each other? How did you meet most of them?

c. What about your own friends, do any of them have children around _____'s age? Do they ever bring their kids along when they visit you?

d. Does _____ have godparents? Are they friends or relatives of yours?

5. a. What usually happens on _____'s birthday? (mainly child's friends or also adults, relatives, etc.)

   b. What do you do on big holidays like the 4th of July, Thanksgiving, etc.? Do you usually spend it with friends or family? What kinds of things do you do?

   c. What kinds of things does _____ do over summer vacation?

6. a. One more thing about school. Does _____ come home from school and tell you about the things s/he does at school? Things s/he likes? Things s/he doesn't like?

   b. Does _____ ever say s/he doesn't want to go to school today? What would (or did) you say to this?

   c. What would you do if _____ was having trouble with a certain subject or with his/her teacher? Or doing his/her homework?

The Coding Frame

1) Mother's view of the child's position in family

a)	(2h)	Special space for play?	Yes	No
b)	(3b)	Chores, jobs?	Yes	No
c)	(3a)	What other things does..... comments from 3a		
d)	(3d) (3c)	Special rules in the house? (comments, if broken)	Yes	No
e)	(3d)	Discipline - (comments, if interesting)	Definite Strategies	Not

2) Mother's view of her network of relationships

a)	(4a)	Family in neighborhood area?	Yes	No
b)		How often visited? (comment)		
c)	(4b)	Friends in neighborhood - (family substitute?)	Yes	No
d)	(5b)	How wide a network of family described?	Extend	Not
e)	(2d)	If you had to go away, who stay with? (comments)	family member	Not
f)	(2b)	How well know parents of child's friends?	Yes	No
		if yes...		
		Close or not?	Close	Not
g)	(4c)	Her friends and their children - do they form a network for her family	Yes	No

3) Mother's view of family in relation to wider social ordering

a)		Work	husband's wife's
b)		Husband-wife relations	married divorced neither

c)	(4d) (5b)	Religion	important	Not
d)		Shared responsibility for children		
e)		Special holidays-how defined?	long holidays	short holidays
f)		How celebrated?	1) With extended family?	
			2) With extended friends?	
			3) With friends?	
			4) With immediate family with kids?	

4) Mother's view of children's network?

a)	(2a)	Can mother's name children's best friends?	Yes	No
b)		Home, friends separate from school friends?	Yes	No
c)		Desireable qualities/ undesireable qualities of friends. Write some		
d)	(2c)	Are children's friendships neighborhood based? (qualification)	Yes	No
e)		Does _____ stay overnight with friends?	Yes	No
f)	(2a-h) (3a)	Does the mother say the child has an active network of friends? (comments)	Active	Not
g)	(2f) (2g)	Discipline of friends (comments)	Yes	No

5) Child's lifespace as seen by mother (as related to family lifespace)

a)		How organized is daily weekly schedule?	Organized	Not
		How organized is summer schedule?	Organized	Not

b)	(2f) (2g)	How are offenses defined with visitor and child?	1. Physical attack 2. Verbal attack 3. Offense against property
c)		How does mother deal with offenses?	1. No action 2. Needs intervention 3. Needs ongoing monitoring 4. Calls other parent 5. other
d)	(3a) (3b)	How much are individual's child's daily activities seen as separate seen as separate from other: 1) sibs or 2) family (comments)	Separate Not
e)	(3d)	How is misbehavior seen?	challenge (wants attention) disruption (negative)
f)	(5a)	Birthdays	1) Family only 2) Family-adult only 3) other family celebration (could include child) 4) Alone with child
g)	(5c)	How is summer vacation spent?	1) Separate from sibs? Not 2) Separate from family? Not 3) How different from regular schedule?

6) Mother's view of child-school-family relationship

a)		Does child talk about school at home?	Yes No
b)	(6c)	Would mother go to school if child had difficulty? (comments) How effective does she feel she can be?	Yes No
c)	(6b)	Not wanting to go to school? (reasons-e.g. it's your work)	

d)	Journey to and from school. How?	1) Bus, car, walk, (walk alone, walk supervised)
	Any rules?	Yes No
	How anxious is mother?	Very Medium Not

Study Two:

Discourse Skills and Strategies at Home and School

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In this paper I am going to develop some general outlines for the study of discourse in family settings and compare these to school discourse. Families provide a richly complex and varied set of organizational features and experiences within which children's knowledge of both language use and social practices develops. Families and homes lack the clearly designated purposes of school classrooms as pedagogical settings and yet within these social groups much of the child's basic social learning is accomplished. It is perhaps only from within the continued intimacy of the home and the family that we can appreciate the subtlety of human communication. We need the continued familiarity of persons and practices to provide a framework of regularities within which we as children and as adults can safely practice the complex inter-channel relationships of words, gestures and tonal patterns which as speech acts within contexts form messages to convey both overtly and covertly our needs or purposes. So potentially ambiguous is our human communication system that the social regularities provided by the cultural contexts of everyday life are necessary as a disambiguating frame for most of our everyday speech. We need to achieve channel redundancy in which any one message receives more than one kind of statement. Given the wealth of complexity which most micro-studies of speech and non-verbal interaction have uncovered (e.g. Kendon; (1977) , Erickson and Schultz (1979). studies have focused on necessarily short sequences. However, some of the judgements that need to be made in the interpretation of intent are influences over wide periods of time and space. In exploring how children acquire language and discourse our model of learning has to keep this fact in view.

Until recently most of the writing on children's language failed to note that children learn their language from an exclusively oral/aural experience. Models of language learning were based on adult grammars and experience and as such relied upon the literate appreciation and analysis of written or transcribed texts. While such research has given us a developmental schema for children's growth of grammatical competence in English (and in several major languages) (Brown 1970) it has somewhat distorted children's own early experiences of language. The focus on the child-as-learner in the early work has neglected to see the child as a communicator within a social context.

Perhaps a more realistic way of viewing language development is to look at the practice of communication skills by children within actual settings and their success at communicating within the terms of their own perception of the needs and requirements of the situation. This shift of approach focuses now upon such problems as the adequacy of the contributions from the child to the communicative situation; the effects of the adult contributions from the child to the communicative situation; the effects of the adult competent speaker upon the learner; the differential perception of the needs of the situation by adults and by children. From this perspective we can better appreciate and assess the language learning task for children as it extends not just to the first few years of life but even through the whole school experience. From this point of view the child as a language learner is seen as someone who learns not by imitation or correction but by creatively shaping a series of acts of speech into a social discourse. Our research focus has centered on how we can study and evaluate the discourse experience of children. Recent attention to the language of young children with their mothers has focused both on the amount of talk exchanged, and on the kinds of talk mothers use with children; and the extent to which they build upon their children's conversational offerings and make them into conversational partners. Across time it has been found that the amount that mothers pick up on their child's conversational contribution and build it into an extended exchange contributes to children's developmental skills at linking together conversational discourse.

From experiences of typical talk between mothers and children, several other researchers have observed that mothers of pre-school children focus particularly on questioning strategies (Corsaro, 1977; Cross, 1978; Leiven, 1978; Snow, 1977). However, these apparent questions actually fulfill many conversational functions. These range from general purposes of keeping the conversation going, to providing a means of eliciting more talk from children, and on to the specific purposes of getting a repeated hearing of what the child said, or checking the information of the child's reply, as a clarification question. So that the adult builds up the child-adult discourse through questions.

In the following short interchange between twin boys and their child-minder, Jill, the adult questions and tries to repair her perceived hearing of the child's comment, in order to find out what he wants for dessert.

Example Two: Toby and David with Jill at lunchtime (T & D, 33 months)

(eating midday meal, facing caretaker, Jill. Jill has just asked if Toby and David would like a banana in jelly--British term for jello)

1 T: no no jelly/ (tinkel) /.
2 J: You eat your dinner then.
3 T: (tinkel)/
4 J: What?
5 T: (tinkel)/ (tin of jelly?)
6 J: tinkle?
7 D: yeah
8 T: no tinkle/ (tinkle) (repeats)/
9 J: You're a prank.

(Keenan & Schieflin, 1976)

Our conclusion from this short episode must be that Toby has failed to communicate his request, but also that presumably he did not wish to formulate this very strongly, since there were several options, other than Jill's closure of the conversation, open to him at the point of the misunderstood repair. These are options that children often use; for example, he could have shown Jill his requested "tin of jelly" by taking her to the cupboard where tins of jelly are kept or refused to eat his dinner until she listened again to his request. Toby chooses to give up the attempt and in the quoted passage does not make any further issue of this. In this incident he does not stay involved in the conversation but remains a responder rather than "taking the floor" to lead an active search after his meaning with the other communicative resources at his disposal.

While this short incident suggests, mainly from the child's perspective, the multiple ways in which communicative tasks can be accomplished, it highlights the communicative problem that exists for mothers. Mothers must create and maintain conversational involvement with young children whose actual language skills are limited. Such involvement is not only necessary to accomplish the everyday tasks of the home but it can also be beneficial to the child's future language development. The more the child enters into and stays involved in conversations the more practice is gained at putting their own requests or comments into an acceptable utterance, (following Halliday, 1975) at "learning how to mean". This development of conversational involvement provides for the child a framework in which the child can grow to understand how conversational contributions can be made; and furthermore, how utterances are linked uttered sequences as discourse frames. Understanding and analyzing the language of mothers and children at home is not just a matter of analyzing the grammatical form or ideas expressed in words, but also of recognizing the communicative expectations and purposes that mothers and children have in their

talk. Expectations can be triggered not only by the verbal context or form but also by situations and events and by contexts where words, events, and locations or settings combine to produce a specific social occasion. In looking at home life between mothers and children we can see this as a series of social occasions where the discourse (that is, the stream of talk) is organized as a specific speech event. In the next example we can see how the ordinary casual dialogue can be organized into a more specific discourse sequence, by the mother.

In this example a mother conducts her two 4 and 5 year old children in the presence of their visiting peer-aged (4 1/2 years old) friend through a sequence of recollections after the children were ready to let the topic drop.

Example Three: Children are making Pizza

(S=Susan (mother); A=Andrew (brother); J=Jane (A's sister); K=Katherine (their friend))

1 S: And some of these are for your guests. Can't we? Some for our guests, you can make all of them.

2 A: OK(men) it's time for that rolly coaster (A is waving pizza in air)

3 S: Can you get that all on this tray?

4 K: I--know what? I I don't like roller coasters cuz they go fast.

5 S: Have you ever been on a roller coaster?

6 K: Yeah. I tried once but I didn't like it.

7 A: Mom can I go on a roller coaster?

8 S: Well we were at disneyland, they didn't allow children your age on rolly coasters.

9 A: Why? Why?

10 S: I guess they think it's too dangerous. Do you remember what the name of the roller coaster at Disneyland can you remember?

11 A: I don't know.

12 S: Jane I think that's enough sause honey you don't want to get too much sause on it.

13 A: It's called the um-

14 S: The name of a mountain remember? And you climbed the mountain? Remember?

15 A: Yes the um- why didn't we take a ride?

16 S: Because you were too young.

17 A: Nooo. Because um- was so crowded.

18 S: Oh it wasn't your age, it was because they were so crowded?

20 S: That could be.

Here, Katherine initiates the recollection, a typically adult way, by a chance semantic association of topics, which get developed into a conversational theme. Her "I know what" (line 5) is linguistically odd but functionally effective. In this incident, the mother uses the child's topic of the roller coaster to continue the conversation much as Kate's mother had done in the first example. But the purposes here are more than to provide a framework for the expression of the child's need, the mother expands on the topic and purpose of the incident, by highlighting social information. She encourages the children to reason with her as to why Andrew couldn't go on the roller coaster and to deduce the implication of the episode. In this way the mother provides a linkage between the event, and its verbally expressed reason and outcome, which provides a model for how language events can be used for social purposes. This example shows some of the discourse skills that mothers can call upon by not only responding or encouraging their children to talk, but by emphasizing the ways in which such organized discourse can express and shape the children's communication needs.

From these examples of mothers talking with their children we can see that the way in which the topics of talk are focused upon, picked up and made into themes which are then developed further, provides an essential experience of <u>discourse as social interaction</u>. Moreover, when stories and anecdotes are used within the flow of conversation, they are set-off from the apparently inconsequential occurrence of topics as an organized section of talk with a point or perhaps even a "moral". Evidence of both white and black, middle and lower class families (Mitchell-Kernan, 1970)* show that expectations about story forms, anecdotes and their topics are an early oral experience of an ordered form of talking. That is, the story form itself (the narrative anecdote) has a discourse structure which requires a selection of topics and an ordered sequence of telling. By being part of an audience, a guided storyteller in family settings, or by receiving control through the use of homilies and stories children learn not only dialogue, how to exchange a few words, but how to link together coherent sequences of utterances into structure which has a discourse purpose. The sequences provide a <u>discourse frame</u> for whatever topic is being talked about.

The major difference between middle and lower class children seems to be the amount of planning and planned/scheduled time slots that are used to divide their days. Literature from the 1950's and 1960's on child socialization stressed the social class differences in 'deferred gratification' and time orientation. (Klein 1965) While the psychological theory that generated the idea of 'deferred gratification' may be rejected as a satisfactory description of the child's life, the planning ahead and segmentation of the day into separate activity areas (classes, visits, activity) is an important phenomenon. The middle class child learns to make and keep to planned actions within time slots; a very significant feature of school life which has a parallel out of school. However such a planned schedule for a 6-7 year old, is adult-maintained and supervised. Freedom to interact with others independently within their own time span is a part of lower class children's lives not often given to middle class children until they reach adolescence. The lower class child learns to organize and fill their own day's activities with less direct adult intervention.

In dimension four we explicitly explored the child's social network from the mother's perspective. In one of the questions, we wanted to know if the mother saw her influence and actions as important in this area of the child's life; and if the child's friends were seen as in some way an extension of the experiences the mother wanted for the child. Children's friendships can be seen as promoting experiences and values which the mother/parent want their children to have. (J. & E. Newson, 1977) There was a large difference between black and white mothers on these two questions; whether they knew the names of their child's best friends, and whether these friends were neighborhood friends or not. For the white middle class mothers, friends were known by name - they were likely to be separate school and home/family friends and not necessarily made by the child in the neighborhood. The picture given was of the selection of friends, from several different areas of the child's and the family's life and of the maintenance of friendship ties, even if friends moved away from the area. The mother evaluated the child's friends in terms of guidelines she would like to see in her child: honesty, sincerity, cheerfulness, creativeness were some of the most frequently mentioned. The mother's clearly put a great deal of importance on helping to promote their child's social-friendships, by encouraging friends who had left the area to come and stay by arranging events.

For black mothers, their children's friendships were neighborhood based. Many did not know the names of their child's best friends and they clearly saw child friendships as an area of autonomy. Where the white middle class mothers

were particularly pleased if their own friends had children who played or were friendly with their children, several of the black lower class mothers saw their own friendship network as quite separate from those of their children. To summarize, we can see a big difference between the middle class conception of friendships as an intrinsic part of the family social environment, promoted and supported by the mother and even sometimes overlapping with the mother's autonomy for the child; or one where siblings may be jointly involved with the same friends. Several black mothers indicated that for them the sibling and family/kin cousinage linkage was more important as a source of social life for their children, than friends who were not in any way involved with family concerns. The reports of children at sharing time bear out these differences.

Dimension two deals with the mother's perception of her own network. We expected to find a variety of responses to those questions that elicited information about the family, its position with regard to other friends and to the family of origin. A network for the mother can vary not only in terms of its composition and density, but also in terms of its intensity. So that, for example, a person may not see their family of origin very frequently but may feel a close tie which is strongly reinforced by both distant communication, and regular if infrequent special meetings especially at ritual ceremonial occasions, (such as Christmas) so that intensity replaces density (frequency) of contacts and overlapping contacts but still provides a strong orientation of interest and support for the family. Our concern with these issues were expressed particularly in questions as to whether her family lived in the area or whether special friends took their place.

A network can also vary in composition where family ties are not strong or are not available (because of distance) so that the friendship connection may supply a similar support orientation as a substitute for kin relations, as well as providing greater density of contact. For example, a group of three or four mothers who met when their children were in the same 2 year old nursery group may continue contact outside of play group occasions, so providing a small but dense and very supportive network. One of the mothers interviewed referred to such an experience as "the park society" of mothers who met regularly at a local play area, and then continued this relationship outside of these occasions. A central question in this area was 2d. "If you had to go away, who would look after your child?" The questions which make up this dimension give us a view of the origins of the mother's network which can be generalized from several sources; personal friends, new and old, parents of the child's friends or close family and other kin relations. Studies of contemporary kin relationships suggest

that a feature of modern middle class kin relations is its selectivity. People are sociable with their kin only if these relationships are supported by common interests. (Firth, Hubert, Forge 1970). The questions in this topic area give us some idea of how mother's see their own network as being a major part of the whole family life, or as differentiated from it. On this issue mother's varied in their comments considerably as to whether family or child concerns were the "linking factor" in their network, that is friendships-acquaintances were through child oriented contacts or were part of adult oriented interests. One of the factors which influenced this (for white middle class mothers) was divorce (2 cases out of 14) where the mother was not constantly her child's support but shared support with the father. Here the mother's friends were not linked through family contacts but through the mother herself. Another linking factor to friendships might be the children themselves, but some of the mother's saw the move away from this basis for friendship linkage as one of the big chances that entry into full time school brought into the mother's life. Several mothers tried to keep the pre-school contacts of mothers and children, or the pre-school friendship circle open, but allowed to the interviewer that they were all moving

Most of the white middle class mothers saw friendship as existing either through the parents of their child's friends or saw the child/family orientation as being the most important and common feature of their contemporary friendships; with the exception of certain "old" friends from their pre-marriage or pre-child days. Most saw the two networks of family-kin as separate from their friendship network. One mother made the distinction quite clearly in response to the question about short holidays, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. Thanksgiving was for friends - the group of families who had once been neighbors still met for a shared Thanksgiving - Christmas was for the family-kin. And though it might not be carried out so explicitly by the other mothers, for all the middle class mothers, the division between friends and kin remained fairly distinct in their patterns of sociability. This division of interest and attention in patterns of sociability was one of the clearest differences, as far as the interviewer could uncover, between lower class black and middle class white mothers. The black mothers saw their friendships as more separate from committment to children and yet saw their kin in many cases more as personal friends-sisters-cousins ; mothers were more likely to form a supportive social network into

which their adult friendships also played a part. (see Stack 1975) These friendships centered on the mother's sociability needs not those of the childrens; although the children were included in social occasions. One mother commented in answer to a question about special occasions "I expect my children to behave when I have friends over, but I want my children to be here with my friends".

The purpose of dimension three was to develop a view of the mothers perception of the family position in regard to it linkages into a wider social framework - into job relations, assumptions of ideological communality with others through religion and other commitments that the family/mothers might make. Many of these questions were asked indirectly - particularly the question of religion which if important to the family was always mentioned somewhere in the interview by the mothers quite spontaneously - but we also, after piloting with both black and white mothers decided to ask a question about special family festivals - (Thanksgiving, Christmas, etc) which were occsions for further comments. We asked about jobs / occupations directly but answers were as expected often evasive. This dimension confirmed that there was a difference in the mothers views if a strong value orientation such as religious beliefs existed which gave the family a close-knit network of associates and support; this was similar across both black and white families.

Conclusion

From our findings in study one, we gain an idea of the workings of the home as a communicative environment. The situation in which the child's discourse skills develop is provided by the social network and communicative economy of the family. Briefly, we can give a summary picture of the effects of our findings of the mother's views of her child's school, friendships, position in the family and the mother's own social network, on the discourse occasions available for children in the home.

The middle class child is in a home situation where adults accommodate to the discourse needs of children, and so learn both to collaborate with and to follow an adult lead. The lower class child learns to compete for the floor, for attention and turns at talk with peers, and to some extent with adults who do not accomodate as readily to children. Adults expect the child to share talk occasions or to watch and attend to adult talk and banter. The lower class child is used to some allocated responsibility in the home, and an autonomy out-

side of the home in their own peer-child sphere. The middle class child has a specially arranged autonomy inside the home- a world set-up by adults often with a specially defined territory which to some extent symbolizes the child's role. Outside of the home the child has responsibility for behaving as a "family representative" that is with values that are shared by the family and with behavior that may exercise more self-control than the child needs to show at home.

What effects do these differences in the child's life-world have on the children's language and discourse strategies? And what influences will these have on the children's classroom behavior. We suggest,(and we will discuss this further in the concluding section of this report) that all the strategies involved with boundary maintenance both of the relationship between self and others and in the maintenance of social space will differ. Both of these boundaries, but particularly that of social space and territory are important in relationships between students and these will be differently defined and verbally monitored. These differences will be manifested in much of the language of helping, requesting and sharing, all areas where the amount of time, energy and other resources given to the other person must either be verbally defined or negotiated. This will also influence the authority relationship and recognition of rights of speaking between the adults in the school class and the children. Differences in what is to be taken as good, lively or appropriate speech are likely. Examples of these different assesments are in the ethnographic report of the lrst grade and in the paper on a case study of Derrick, by J. Schafer. For example, lower class children speak up or add comments to adult monologues and so are seen as impertinent; middle class children wait for the adult lead then add or extropolate on the teacher's words, so are seen as co-operative.

This misunderstanding even at the level of misinterpretation of a single statement such as a "help me" request by a black lower class child, can easily arise. Michaels (1981) has reported that when some black children were given a task to do they called to her "Sarah help me please" which she took as an inability to do the task. At a suggestion from the teacher she refused help, whereupon the children easily did the task. She realized that in this context the "help me" was not a plea for aid but a strategy to get her to join them in a collaborative work group, rather than each individual working separately at their desks doing the task separately. Such misunderstandings can naturally arise unless we can understand more about the communicative environment in which children learn to talk and interact before they come to school.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introductory lead-in: We want to know what _____'s life outside of school is like. I was in school with him/her all last year and I got to see all the stuff they did in the classroom, on the playground, even in the lunchroom, but I don't really know what a kid of 6 or 7 does after school or when school is out.

1. a. What kinds of things does _____ do after school?

   b. How does s/he get home from school?

   c. Does _____ come right home after school or can s/he stop along the way, at a friend's or at a park?

   d. Do you have specific rules about coming straight home?

   e. What would s/he do if nobody was home?

2. a. Who are _____'s best friends? Are these basically school friends or kids in the neighborhood or children of your friends, etc.?

   b. How well do you know the parents of his/her best friends? If friends, how did you get to be friends?

   c. (i) Does _____ stay overnight with friends or have friends stay over? About how often? (ii) Does s/he ever stay overnight with relatives?

   d. If you (refers to mother only) had to go away for a couple of days, who would you like _____ to stay with? Has this ever happened?

   e. Have you ever not like one of _____'s friends? Why? Did you ever try to discourage his/her friendship with this kid? If not, would you ever conceivably? What kinds of things are important to you about _____'s friends?

   f. If _____ had a fight with one of his/her friends, what would you do? (e.g., Would you talk to the friend's parents, etc.?) Has this ever happened? What did you do?

g. What would you do if _____ had a friend over and that child did something pretty bad, like kicked _____ for no good reason, or wrote on the walls or something? Has this ever happened? What did you do?

h. Where does _____ usually play with his friends? (Indoors or outside? In his bedroom, or playroom, etc.?) (i) Do you usually know what they're up to, or (ii) are they off and about by themselves? (Reverse i and ii for black families.)

3. a. What other things does _____ do around the house besides play with friends?

b. Does s/he have chores or other jobs to do? (e.g., babysitting for younger sister or brother)

c. Are there any special rules in the house? Things that you don't like _____ to do? (What are these rules and how do they work out?) What would happen if one of these rules got broken?

d. Are there any things that you would discipline _____ for? Has this ever happened? What did you do?

4. a. (i) What about your family and your husband's family? Do they live in this area? Do you see them often? Where do you usually see them? (ii) If your family doesn't live in this area, do you have a few friends who you feel especially close to, sort of like family?

b. Do most of your very best friends know each other? How did you meet most of them?

c. What about your own friends, do any of them have children around _____'s age? Do they ever bring their kids along when they visit you?

d. Does _____ have godparents? Are they friends or relatives of yours?

5. a. What usually happens on _____'s birthday? (mainly child's friends or also adults, relatives, etc.)

   b. What do you do on big holidays like the 4th of July, Thanksgiving, etc.? Do you usually spend it with friends or family? What kinds of things do you do?

   c. What kinds of things does _____ do over summer vacation?

6. a. One more thing about school. Does _____ come home from school and tell you about the things s/he does at school? Things s/he likes? Things s/he doesn't like?

   b. Does _____ ever say s/he doesn't want to go to school today? What would (or did) you say to this?

   c. What would you do if _____ was having trouble with a certain subject or with his/her teacher? Or doing his/her homework?

The Coding Frame

1) Mother's view of the child's position in family

a)	(2h)	Special space for play?	Yes	No
b)	(3b)	Chores, jobs?	Yes	No
c)	(3a)	What other things does..... comments from 3a		
d)	(3d) (3c)	Special rules in the house? (comments, if broken)	Yes	No
e)	(3d)	Discipline - (comments, if interesting)	Definite Strategies	Not

2) Mother's view of her network of relationships

a)	(4a)	Family in neighborhood area?	Yes	No
b)		How often visited? (comment)		
c)	(4b)	Friends in neighborhood - (family substitute?)	Yes	No
d)	(5b)	How wide a network of family described?	Extend	Not
e)	(2d)	If you had to go away, who stay with? (comments)	family member	Not
f)	(2b)	How well know parents of child's friends?	Yes	No
		if yes...		
		Close or not?	Close	Not
g)	(4c)	Her friends and their children - do they form a network for her family	Yes	No

3) Mother's view of family in relation to wider social ordering

a)		Work	husband's wife's
b)		Husband-wife relations	married divorced neither

c)	(4d) (5b)	Religion	important	Not
d)		Shared responsibility for children		
e)		Special holidays-how defined?	long holidays	short holidays
f)		How celebrated?	1) With extended family?	
			2) With extended friends?	
			3) With friends?	
			4) With immediate family with kids?	

4) Mother's view of children's network?

a)	(2a)	Can mother's name children's best friends?	Yes	No
b)		Home, friends separate from school friends?	Yes	No
c)		Desireable qualities/ undesireable qualities of friends. Write some		
d)	(2c)	Are children's friendships neighborhood based? (qualification)	Yes	No
e)		Does _____ stay overnight with friends?	Yes	No
f)	(2a-h) (3a)	Does the mother say the child has an active network of friends? (comments)	Active	Not
g)	(2f) (2g)	Discipline of friends (comments)	Yes	No

5) Child's lifespace as seen by mother (as related to family lifespace)

a)		How organized is daily weekly schedule?	Organized	Not
		How organized is summer schedule?	Organized	Not

b)	(2f) (2g)	How are offenses defined with visitor and child?	1. Physical attack 2. Verbal attack 3. Offense against property
c)		How does mother deal with offenses?	1. No action 2. Needs intervention 3. Needs ongoing monitoring 4. Calls other parent 5. other
d)	(3a) (3b)	How much are individual's child's daily activities seen as separate seen as separate from other: 1) sibs or 2) family (comments)	Separate Not
e)	(3d)	How is misbehavior seen?	challenge (wants attention) disruption (negative)
f)	(5a)	Birthdays	1) Family only 2) Family-adult only 3) other family celebration (could include child) 4) Alone with child
g)	(5c)	How is summer vacation spent?	1) Separate from sibs? Not 2) Separate from family? Not 3) How different from regular schedule?

6) Mother's view of child-school-family relationship

a)		Does child talk about school at home?	Yes No
b)	(6c)	Would mother go to school if child had difficulty? (comments) How effective does she feel she can be?	Yes No
c)	(6b)	Not wanting to go to school? (reasons-e.g. it's your work)	

d)	Journey to and from school. How?	1) Bus, car, walk, (walk alone, walk supervised)
	Any rules?	Yes No
	How anxious is mother?	Very Medium Not

Study Two:

Discourse Skills and Strategies at Home and School

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In this paper I am going to develop some general outlines for the study of discourse in family settings and compare these to school discourse. Families provide a richly complex and varied set of organizational features and experiences within which children's knowledge of both language use and social practices develops. Families and homes lack the clearly designated purposes of school classrooms as pedagogical settings and yet within these social groups much of the child's basic social learning is accomplished. It is perhaps only from within the continued intimacy of the home and the family that we can appreciate the subtlety of human communication. We need the continued familiarity of persons and practices to provide a framework of regularities within which we as children and as adults can safely practice the complex inter-channel relationships of words, gestures and tonal patterns which as speech acts within contexts form messages to convey both overtly and covertly our needs or purposes. So potentially ambiguous is our human communication system that the social regularities provided by the cultural contexts of everyday life are necessary as a disambiguating frame for most of our everyday speech. We need to achieve channel redundancy in which any one message receives more than one kind of statement. Given the wealth of complexity which most micro-studies of speech and non-verbal interaction have uncovered (e.g. Kendon; (1977) , Erickson and Schultz (1979). studies have focused on necessarily short sequences. However, some of the judgements that need to be made in the interpretation of intent are influences over wide periods of time and space. In exploring how children acquire language and discourse our model of learning has to keep this fact in view.

Until recently most of the writing on children's language failed to note that children learn their language from an exclusively oral/aural experience. Models of language learning were based on adult grammars and experience and as such relied upon the literate appreciation and analysis of written or transcribed texts. While such research has given us a developmental schema for children's growth of grammatical competence in English (and in several major languages) (Brown 1970) it has somewhat distorted children's own early experiences of language. The focus on the child-as-learner in the early work has neglected to see the child as a communicator within a social context.

Perhaps a more realistic way of viewing language development is to look at the practice of communication skills by children within actual settings and their success at communicating within the terms of their own perception of the needs and requirements of the situation. This shift of approach focuses now upon such problems as the adequacy of the contributions from the child to the communicative situation; the effects of the adult contributions from the child to the communicative situation; the effects of the adult competent speaker upon the learner; the differential perception of the needs of the situation by adults and by children. From this perspective we can better appreciate and assess the language learning task for children as it extends not just to the first few years of life but even through the whole school experience. From this point of view the child as a language learner is seen as someone who learns not by imitation or correction but by creatively shaping a series of acts of speech into a social discourse. Our research focus has centered on how we can study and evaluate the discourse experience of children. Recent attention to the language of young children with their mothers has focused both on the amount of talk exchanged, and on the kinds of talk mothers use with children; and the extent to which they build upon their children's conversational offerings and make them into conversational partners. Across time it has been found that the amount that mothers pick up on their child's conversational contribution and build it into an extended exchange contributes to children's developmental skills at linking together conversational discourse.

From experiences of typical talk between mothers and children, several other researchers have observed that mothers of pre-school children focus particularly on questioning strategies (Corsaro, 1977; Cross, 1978; Leiven, 1978; Snow, 1977). However, these apparent questions actually fulfill many conversational functions. These range from general purposes of keeping the conversation going, to providing a means of eliciting more talk from children, and on to the specific purposes of getting a repeated hearing of what the child said, or checking the information of the child's reply, as a clarification question. So that the adult builds up the child-adult discourse through questions.

In the following short interchange between twin boys and their child-minder, Jill, the adult questions and tries to repair her perceived hearing of the child's comment, in order to find out what he wants for dessert.

Example Two: Toby and David with Jill at lunchtime (T & D, 33 months)

(eating midday meal, facing caretaker, Jill. Jill has just asked if Toby and David would like a banana in jelly--British term for jello)

1 T: no no jelly/ (tinkel) /.
2 J: You eat your dinner then.
3 T: (tinkel)/
4 J: What?
5 T: (tinkel)/ (tin of jelly?)
6 J: tinkle?
7 D: yeah
8 T: no tinkle/ (tinkle) (repeats)/
9 J: You're a prank.

(Keenan & Schieflin, 1976)

Our conclusion from this short episode must be that Toby has failed to communicate his request, but also that presumably he did not wish to formulate this very strongly, since there were several options, other than Jill's closure of the conversation, open to him at the point of the misunderstood repair. These are options that children often use; for example, he could have shown Jill his requested "tin of jelly" by taking her to the cupboard where tins of jelly are kept or refused to eat his dinner until she listened again to his request. Toby chooses to give up the attempt and in the quoted passage does not make any further issue of this. In this incident he does not stay involved in the conversation but remains a responder rather than "taking the floor" to lead an active search after his meaning with the other communicative resources at his disposal.

While this short incident suggests, mainly from the child's perspective, the multiple ways in which communicative tasks can be accomplished, it highlights the communicative problem that exists for mothers. Mothers must create and maintain conversational involvement with young children whose actual language skills are limited. Such involvement is not only necessary to accomplish the everyday tasks of the home but it can also be beneficial to the child's future language development. The more the child enters into and stays involved in conversations the more practice is gained at putting their own requests or comments into an acceptable utterance, (following Halliday, 1975) at "learning how to mean". This development of conversational involvement provides for the child a framework in which the child can grow to understand how conversational contributions can be made; and furthermore, how utterances are linked uttered sequences as discourse frames. Understanding and analyzing the language of mothers and children at home is not just a matter of analyzing the grammatical form or ideas expressed in words, but also of recognizing the communicative expectations and purposes that mothers and children have in their

talk. Expectations can be triggered not only by the verbal context or form but also by situations and events and by contexts where words, events, and locations or settings combine to produce a specific social occasion. In looking at home life between mothers and children we can see this as a series of social occasions where the discourse (that is, the stream of talk) is organized as a specific speech event. In the next example we can see how the ordinary casual dialogue can be organized into a more specific discourse sequence, by the mother.

In this example a mother conducts her two 4 and 5 year old children in the presence of their visiting peer-aged (4 1/2 years old) friend through a sequence of recollections after the children were ready to let the topic drop.

Example Three: Children are making Pizza

(S=Susan (mother); A=Andrew (brother); J=Jane (A's sister); K=Katherine (their friend))

1 S: And some of these are for your guests. Can't we? Some for our guests, you can make all of them.

2 A: OK(men) it's time for that rolly coaster (A is waving pizza in air)

3 S: Can you get that all on this tray?

4 K: I--know what? I I don't like roller coasters cuz they go fast.

5 S: Have you ever been on a roller coaster?

6 K: Yeah. I tried once but I didn't like it.

7 A: Mom can I go on a roller coaster?

8 S: Well we were at disneyland, they didn't allow children your age on rolly coasters.

9 A: Why? Why?

10 S: I guess they think it's too dangerous. Do you remember what the name of the roller coaster at Disneyland can you remember?

11 A: I don't know.

12 S: Jane I think that's enough sause honey you don't want to get too much sause on it.

13 A: It's called the um-

14 S: The name of a mountain remember? And you climbed the mountain? Remember?

15 A: Yes the um- why didn't we take a ride?

16 S: Because you were too young.

17 A: Nooo. Because um- was so crowded.

18 S: Oh it wasn't your age, it was because they were so crowded?

20 S: That could be.

Here, Katherine initiates the recollection, a typically adult way, by a chance semantic association of topics, which get developed into a conversational theme. Her "I know what" (line 5) is linguistically odd but functionally effective. In this incident, the mother uses the child's topic of the roller coaster to continue the conversation much as Kate's mother had done in the first example. But the purposes here are more than to provide a framework for the expression of the child's need, the mother expands on the topic and purpose of the incident, by highlighting social information. She encourages the children to reason with her as to why Andrew couldn't go on the roller coaster and to deduce the implication of the episode. In this way the mother provides a linkage between the event, and its verbally expressed reason and outcome, which provides a model for how language events can be used for social purposes. This example shows some of the discourse skills that mothers can call upon by not only responding or encouraging their children to talk, but by emphasizing the ways in which such organized discourse can express and shape the children's communication needs.

From these examples of mothers talking with their children we can see that the way in which the topics of talk are focused upon, picked up and made into themes which are then developed further, provides an essential experience of <u>discourse as social interaction</u>. Moreover, when stories and anecdotes are used within the flow of conversation, they are set-off from the apparently inconsequential occurrence of topics as an organized section of talk with a point or perhaps even a "moral". Evidence of both white and black, middle and lower class families (Mitchell-Kernan, 1970)* show that expectations about story forms, anecdotes and their topics are an early oral experience of an ordered form of talking. That is, the story form itself (the narrative anecdote) has a discourse structure which requires a selection of topics and an ordered sequence of telling. By being part of an audience, a guided storyteller in family settings, or by receiving control through the use of homilies and stories children learn not only dialogue, how to exchange a few words, but how to link together coherent sequences of utterances into structure which has a discourse purpose. The sequences provide a <u>discourse frame</u> for whatever topic is being talked about.

The role of parent-child interaction in developing these discourse frames form a good basis for examining the school language experience. When children enter school it is this home-based experience that they take with them. In studying children in first grade we have focused on an event which has much in common with this everyday home experience--what is now called "sharing time or news time". Yet however, as we will argue, this experience varies from any similar experience of talking or story-telling at home. By explaining the ways in which this discourse experience differs we can highlight the often hidden assumptions of the child's entry into the first few years of school.

Sharing is a clearly bounded speech event, opened formulaically by the teacher (or student teacher), saying "OK, who has something important (interesting, exciting, special, etc.) to share?" To get a turn, children raise their hands and wait to be nominated by the teacher, but while another child is sharing, anyone can call out short, topically relevant comments from the rug. During this time the children are expected to sit quietly on the rug, engaged in what has been called attentive listening, that is even their posture must symbolize their attention to the specific verbal cues. (Cook-Gumperz 1978) We can see that for children sharing-time is a completely unique speech event from evidence of their use of a highly marked intonation contour. This "sharing intonation" is an integral feature of sharing discourse and occurs in no other classroom specch activity (other than role-playing sharing as a part of "playing school").

The teacher's notion of "sharing" discourse, while having something in common with the everyday notions of narrative structure, requires that the story take the form of a simple statement and resolution centering on a single topic. Importance is attached, not to content <u>per se</u>, nor to the sequentially ordered structure of an account, but rather, as in simple descriptive <u>prose</u>, to clarity of topic statement and explication.

The teacher's notion of sharing is thus far removed from everyday accounts which depend upon their situated character for much of the detail. In the teacher's model this kind of detail must be fully lexicalized and explicated. The teacher's expectations thus seem to be shaped more by our adult notions of literate descriptions and are influenced by the need of the school experience to promote literacy.

Let us see what such a shift of emphasis and expectation does to the children's sharing. (This example is taken from Michaels, 1981)

1 Mindy: When I was in 'Da:y Camp / we made these / um candle:s /
2 T: You made 'them? /
3 Mindy: And uh / I-I 'tried it with 'different colors / with 'both
4 of them but / 'one just came out / 'this one just came
5 out blue / and 'I don't know / what this color is /
6 T: That's neat-o // Tell the kids how you do it from the
7 very start // Pretend we don't know a thing about candles //
8 ... OK // What did you do first? // What did you use? //
9 Flour? //
10 Mindy: Um ... there's some / hot wax / some real hot wax / that
11 you / 'just take a string / and tie a knot in it // and
12 'dip the 'string in the um wax //
13 T: What makes it uh have a shape? //
14 Mindy: Um / you just shape it //
15 T: Oh you shaped it with your hand // mm //
16 Mindy: But you have / 'first you [illegible] to 'stick it into the wax /
17 and then water / and then 'keep doing that until it gets to
18 the size you want it //
19 T: OK // Who knows what the string is for? // ...

In this example the teacher collaborates with the child in order to elicit further description; she adds questions to provide a shaping of the child's explanation. Her speech is heavily emphasized, on the comments such as "neato"; or "You made them" (said with great surprise and praise). The child uses a typical 'sharing' presentation with the introductory framing and intonation and a flattened intonational contour for the explanation. Another white middle class child's contribution to sharing is the following where the child presents a well-organized account that requires only a limited supportive response from the teacher.

Jessie: Yesterday my mom, and my whole family went with me, um, to a party, and there was a Thanksgiving party wh- and we um, my

ST: mm

Jessie: mother we had to um get-dress up as pilgrims and my mom made me this hat for a pilgrim.

ST: Oh great.

T: Try it on/model it for us. Let's see how you' look as a Pilgrim.

Jessie: I don't want to.

These examples suggest that the teacher's literate bias is concerned with "making the point clear" and extrapolating it, this concern she expresses as "saying one important thing." So that while sharing seems to build upon home-based experience of anecdoting and story-telling as a specific discourse frame, the teacher's actions both provide support for and require a rather different performance. Conversationally embedded stories told at home often do not need a clearly elaborated point, but can be collectively constructed. When the child's performance is close to the teacher's expectations the teacher's comments do however act collaboratively and provide a learning experience for the child by providing a discourse frame into which the child can incorporate more information. (See

These differences perhaps serve to highlight not only the hidden agenda of the teacher but that of the mothers who are concerned essentially with the problems of the transmission of social knowledge to another generation. Where teachers use story-telling, anecdoting and sharing to teach <u>discourse form</u>, mothers use it to <u>teach content</u> that is to set up and expand on issues that are necessary to categorize children's social experience.

We can take this exploration of discourse frames, and different discourse performances further in exploring the ways that specific information exchanges take place at home. As we have mentioned at the beginning of this paper, mother's talk to their children is without a specific goal of receiving and exchanging information to accomplish an activity. A great deal of the talk in family contexts is in fact motivated by the practicalities of a common, shared life in a specific spatial area. The amount of activity of organizing a family that takes place in the home may seem at first sight less complicated than that in the school classroom, but it has one important difference; family life is less predictable

and less under any one person's centralized control. Such features make the discourse occasions of the daily family life more variable than the routines of classroom days. This has meant that in order to make any comparisons between homes/families and school classrooms, we must focus on specific communicative tasks, which are similar in both contexts.

In our next example, a mother and child (this is the same 6+ year old child from the first "candle" sharing example.) are at home together after school. The mother is beginning some of the preparation for supper and the daughter, Mindy, is helping her. As they do these tasks they are talking about Mindy's day at school.

Mandy and mother - At Home June 1979 #106 *

m: What was your uhm MGM thing that you did today
M: ah 'bout mummies
m: mummies
M: uh huh
m: what's a mummy
M: you know those things that come in mummy cases
m: are I a mummy
M: no you're not wrapped up in bandages
m: those things that come - what were they
M: mummies
m: tell me what they are
M: well they're just - I don't really know what they are but something wrapped up in bandages that are still / /
m: so do you know what's inside of there
M: no do you
m: yes
M: what
m: dead people (long pause) long time ago people used to do that in Egypt which is a country far far away they used to do that to preserve the bodies so the bodies wouldn't decay and rot
M: why don't they just bury 'em
m: well it had something to their religion/that's all/that's what they were supposed to do that's what their gods wanted them to do (long pause) was it interesting the stuff that you read
M: yeah 'cept I only did about three sentences 'cause I didn't know - we had to um tell where you could find them and all I wrote was in books and museums and
m: in museums uh-huh
M: and from somebody who knows about/
M: but it has to be in Berkeley
m: it does
M: and I gave myself a three

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* MGM refers, not to the film company, but are the letters for a special series of materials that are used by the teacher to supplement the reading book tasks for the high reading group. The letters stand for mentally-gifted-materials. The mother in this episode, has learnt these names as she has spent an hour or so a week as a "helping parent" in the classroom.

m: I doubt it there're any mummies in Berkeley
M: I know you just have to um find out about those where you can find out about them
m: are you supposed to do that on your own
M: no
m: oh where you-oh I see what you mean (pause) where would you go if you wanted to find out about them
M: museum
m: mmhmm where else
M: library books about them
m: right
M: I wrote that
m: well I think that was a very good answer (pause) you know another way you can learn about things
M: what
m: /like that some/times
M: what
m: you can go to a lecture do you know what that is what's a lecture
M: I don't know
m: where somebody talks about something that they know something about and they give you information so I guess you could go to a lecture about mummies if you could find out where one was being given couldn't you
M: yeah (pause) Mathew said he wished he has mine
m: wished he had what
M: now I have classifieds
m: what does that mean
M: not classified something like that maybe it's classified
m: categorizing or something
M: no it doesn't have a g in it
m: what does it mean
M: may - it has a g in it but the g isn't at the end
m: what is it
M: um/wait/
m: do you like doing it
M: yeah
m: when is it that you do this um MGM stuff
M at the day/when we have handwriting/
m: in the afternoon
M: yeah
m: do you still do handwriting wait a sec I want you to help me some more

The first thing we notice is the different "kinds of interchange between mother and daughter, several interchanges or a few words, with an occasional long monologue as when the mother describes an Egyptian mummy. The mother's exchange only succeeds in reaching the point the daughter has been making after a lengthy dialogue, when the mother says, "Oh I see what you mean". From knowledge of the ethnographic classroom procedures we know that the key statement about the task made by Mindy was said almost as an aside, with a lowered tone - "and I

gave myself a three". The purpose of these materials is for the child to evaluate and rate their own answer. The mother who is continuing to keep to the theme of "mummies" misses the point entirely. We can see in this exchange that the way information is given in adult-child talking varies from direct questioning, to the child offering pieces of information which are put together into a whole explanation by the adult. Neither participant to this conversation feels the need to tell all they know, or to encourage the other to give concise information statements, both are willing to allow themes to develop, even if they are off the point of the others previous statement. Several themes are begun, developed or dropped in this short conversation and at several places the mother does not probe further the child's meaning except when they both search for the correct description of the task the child calls "classifieds".

Let us look at the intonation/prosodic pattern of this home speech and compare it to the classroom. In the classroom context a teacher has what we can best describe as a one-to-many voice; her intonational contours are markedly varied and she uses her voice for dramatic effect, as in the sharing example, where she says with great surprise "you made it ". The child's voice however, - except for the formulaic introduction to sharing, has a flattened contour when she is giving a presentation or explanation, as if concentrating on the meaning to be carried in the words.

The mother's voice in this interchange we will characterize as a one to one voice, low, quick and not very varied in intonational contour, however, the child's voice is the opposite of the school-voice - very expressive with many varied stress and pitch changes. We could characterize her school-classroom voice as attentive, her home speech is expressive.

To continue with this comparison, we can see that the mother offers informationally complex or ambiguous messages - or contrastively limited and situated directives. The themes are often repeated but the immediate verbal contexts are varied and unpredictable. A long discussion ~~spell~~ about museums will be interrupted with an instruction on how to grate cheese. In the home context, mothers/parents are likely to use any available occasion to give a piece of information or even a short homily; the themes may be repeated but the situational contexts will be varied and unpredictable.

At school, in the classroom the teacher aims to create situations in which to embed the information she is teaching. The situations created by classroom

routines, both informational and in terms of actual verbal formulae, aim to be consiatent and predictable. In this way attention is directed to the verbal content of the message, which is informationally simple but aims to be understood. The teacher may use either simple or elaborated verbal directives, but her aim is to have the children understand and act upon her verbal message.

These examples show that even for the middle class child the home discourse experience provides a set of expectations different from those developed in school/teacher communication. The time frame for home communication is very different, understanding can be aimed at across several interchanges and ambiguity can be unraveled without direct remedial strategies. In school situations the teacher attempts to provide a clearly marked discourse frame especially for key lesson segments which signalls the context of her talk. The teacher expects the students to learn to recognize the discourse frame as an essential part of the classroom experience, in this way attempting to overcome some of the potential ambiguity of everyday communication.